

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## STOP BOSTON LYNCH MOBS!

### Black leaders demand federal troops now

By DONALD GUREWITZ  
and GUS HOROWITZ

BOSTON, Oct. 9—After weeks of racist violence that has built up into a lynch-mob atmosphere, leaders of the Black community here have demanded that federal troops be brought in to protect Black students from white mobs seeking to halt school desegregation.

Already one Black man barely escaped be-

### On-the-scene report

ing lynched by a crowd of whites screaming, "Get the nigger!" and "Offer him up!" White hoodlums are roaming the city, attacking Blacks.

In the face of this uncontrolled violence, Black leaders have issued urgent appeals for federal troops to stop the racist attacks. Doris Bunte, a Black state legislator, reflected the mood among Blacks when she declared, "If it requires tanks, that's what we want. If it requires bazookas, that's what we want."

Meanwhile, at his Oct. 9 news conference, President Ford gave a green light to the racists by openly denouncing the federal court ruling ordering busing to end segregation in Boston's schools.

As if in response to Ford's invitation to racist violence, Boston cops continued their pummeling and hassling of young people in the Black community here.

The white racists have been mobilizing ever since the opening of school Sept. 12. They are trying to prevent Black students from entering the predominantly white schools, which were ordered desegregated by federal judge Arthur Garrity on June 21. The ruling was in response to a suit by the NAACP.

The heart of the racist offensive has been in the area known as South Boston, but as it gained strength it spread elsewhere in the city.

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White racist mob in lynch attempt against Jean-Louis Andre Yvon, who was dragged from his car and beaten.

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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**MARCH FOR JOBS IN CHICAGO:** One thousand predominantly Black and Latino people marched through the streets of Chicago Oct. 7 with signs saying "Save the worker" and "I want a job."

After picketing the Labor Department building the demonstrators marched down State Street to a brief rally. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, told the crowd that further actions will be held to demand that the government provide the unemployed with jobs. The demonstrators then marched to city hall and lined up at the Civil Service Commission to fill out applications for jobs.

At a news conference the next day Jackson said that PUSH was initiating a city-wide "soup line" at its headquarters to help feed the unemployed. He demanded that President Ford declare unemployment in this country an emergency, and that the government immediately create at least one million public service jobs.

Other organizations represented at the news conference included the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Spanish Action Committee, and West Side Christian Parish.

A demonstration was announced for Oct. 9 to protest Ford's speech on the economy. Jackson also announced that plans would be made later in the month for coordinating demonstrations for jobs in other cities where PUSH chapters exist.

## First Attica defendant wins dismissal of case

By KURT HILL

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The charges against the first of the Attica Brothers to come to trial have been dismissed.

Justice Frank Bayger threw out the case against Willie Smith on Oct. 9. Smith, who is Black, had been charged with sexually assaulting a white prisoner during the 1971 rebellion at Attica.

Bayger said the prosecution had failed to present evidence to corroborate essential facts.

In a related development, the Attica Brothers Legal Defense has announced plans to launch a legal inquiry and possibly file suit to prevent the use of evidence taken from interview notes and other documents that the prosecution admits have been destroyed. Defense attorneys say that this material was shredded because it supports the defense contention that prosecution witnesses have changed their stories since the grand jury.

**WOMEN EMPLOYED TO HOLD FIRST CONVENTION:** Women Employed (WE), an organization for working women in Chicago, is planning its first convention for Oct. 20.

As part of the activities leading up to the gathering, a meeting was held Sept. 19 in support of the right of secretaries to organize. About 90 people attended, reports Militant correspondent Jeanne FitzMaurice. WE members reported recent harassment by their employers in attempts to stop organizing activities.

Some women reported more or less subtle harassment, but the most blatant case was that of Arlene Nagy, who was fired from her job as a legal secretary after her statement about discrimination by her boss appeared in the Chicago press.

WE has organized protests against such unfair job practices and has taken the Nagy case to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Action against the law firm is pending.

At the upcoming convention WE will be discussing activities for the coming year. All women who work in downtown Chicago are urged to attend and to help plan ways to fight discrimination on the job. The convention will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel beginning at 2 p.m. on Oct. 20.

**CARBONDALE STUDENTS PICKET CIA, FBI:** A picket line of 60 people took place at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale Sept. 26 to protest the presence of the CIA and FBI on campus. The two secret-police agencies were on campus to recruit students as part of a "Careers Conference."

Sponsors of the picket were the Young Socialist Alliance; the Coalition against CIA, FBI Recruitment; the Committee to Defend the Right to Speak; and the Young Workers Liberation League.

Chanting "CIA, FBI, no more murders, no more lies," pickets carried signs such as "Free all Chilean political dissenters," "Stop FBI harassment of political dissenters," "Defend the victims of the Chilean junta," and "CIA, FBI off campus."

**CHICAGO TEACHERS GET NEW CONTRACT:** The Chicago board of education and the Chicago Teachers

Union, American Federation of Teachers Local 1, reached agreement on a new contract Sept. 22.

The agreement narrowly averted a strike that had been set for the next day by a 3-to-1 vote of union members. The agreement covers 27,000 teachers and 6,000 civil service personnel.

The union had demanded an 11 percent pay raise; the board had offered 4.5 percent. The final agreement includes an approximately 9 percent increase, significantly below the rate of inflation.

The new contract widens the gap between starting salaries and salaries of teachers with more seniority. Those already receiving higher pay got the higher percentage raises as well.

Under the new contract a starting teacher with a B.A. degree will receive \$10,000 a year, while a teacher with 15 years experience will receive \$16,628.

**UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON STUDENTS RALLY FOR AMNESTY:** A rally of 120 in support of unconditional amnesty for war resisters was held Oct. 4 at the University of Houston.

Speakers were: Professor Thomas DeGregory; State Representative Mickey Leland; Norma Wilder, whose son was killed in Vietnam; Maria Jiminez, La Raza Unida Party candidate for state representative in district 87; Sara Johnston, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state board of education, 18th district; Robin Collins, representing Veterans for Total Amnesty; and Harry Goldberg, University of Houston student senate.

The rally received wide coverage in the Houston media.

The speakers blasted Ford's "earned reentry" plan for war resisters and contrasted the government's treatment of war resisters to the full pardon given Nixon.

**BLISSFUL CON ARTISTS:** Michael Clegg, business manager for Guru Maharaj-ji, was recently indicted, along with eight more of the teenage guru's disciples, for stock fraud.

A federal grand jury in New York charged the nine with conspiracy, fraud, and sale of unregistered stock in Pioneer Development Corporation in Reno, Nev. The grand jury charges that the company is a fake.

The guru himself wasn't named as a defendant.

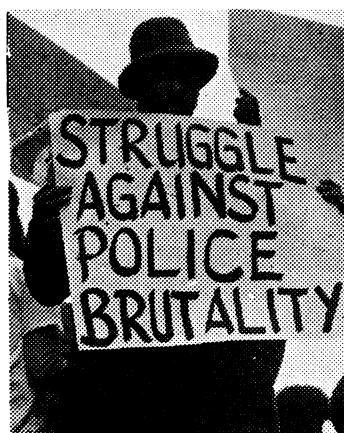
**CREW CHIEF ON MIGRANT FARM CHARGED WITH SLAVERY:** Marcos Portalatin, a crew chief on the Rosario Sorbello and Sons farm in Swedesboro, New Jersey, was charged recently with holding Puerto Rican migrant workers in involuntary servitude.

Portalatin was also indicted for assaulting a state legislator and threatening farm workers to force them to lie to a grand jury that was investigating the Sorbello farm. The charge of assault stemmed from an incident last July when New Jersey Assemblyman Byron Baer was attacked by Portalatin with a piece of lumber and received a broken arm. Baer was visiting the farm to investigate the conditions of the migrant workers.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Parents fight against racist firing in New York District 1 school struggle

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK, Oct. 7—Protests are continuing to mount here in response to the most recent attacks by supporters of United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in school District 1.

On Oct. 3, 14 principals, assistant principals, and other supervisors, selected with the approval of parents, were fired. This action by the five majority members of the nine-member local school board followed the suspension of school superintendent Luis Fuentes and about 150 paraprofessionals and teacher aides.

The decision to fire the 14 supervisors was made at a meeting in June, but because the validity of that meeting was in question, the Shankerites called a special public board meeting for Oct. 3 to reaffirm their decision. Just before this meeting city school Chancellor Irving Anker ruled that the June meeting and the firings were valid.

In spite of the short notice for the board meeting, 500 angry people crowded into the auditorium at Junior High School 56.

Before the board meeting a march was held through the Lower East Side's Puerto Rican community. Starting with about 30 people, the march swelled to several hundred, mostly young Puerto Rican women, by the time it reached the school where the meeting was to be held. Among the most common chants were "Padres unidos, jamás serán vencidos" ("Parents united will never be defeated"), "Racist board must go," and "Fuentes, Si, Shanker, No."

Legally all decisions of the school board are supposed to be made in front of a public meeting of parents. But the Shankerites board members, afraid of facing the enraged parents and their supporters, locked themselves in a separate room and planned to conduct the meeting with two closed-circuit televisions.

The four pro-community-control board members, who ran as part of the "Por Los Niños" slate last May, refused to meet with the Shankerite members. Instead they met with the parents, opened the meeting by taking roll call, and explained the facts about the firings. A statement distributed by the four board members pointed out that "since May, the five UFT-backed members have strategically stripped our community of all its rights—the right as parents and community to determine the nature of and quality of the educational institution in our community."

## 'Big Brother'

About an hour after the parents began their meeting—actually it was more like a rally with much spirited chanting and rhythmic clapping—the Shankerite board members appeared on the television screens. The voice of board chairman Adolph Roher, seeming to come from nowhere, belled through the speakers like "Big Brother."

Pro-community-control board member Henry Ramos faced the televisions and urged the Shankerites to come out of hiding and appear before the parents. They never did, and the enraged parents threw the televisions on the floor, obliterating the 1984 image of Shanker's agents dictating to the community.

The parents then marched to Roher's home chanting, "Racist board must go!" From there many of the marchers



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

'Parents united will never be defeated!' chanted protesters as they marched to Oct. 3 school board meeting

went to Public School 188 where co-principals Ted Fletcher and Charles Berger had been fired.

They began a sit-in that at the time of this writing is still continuing. Parents from other schools are providing support for the sit-in, and it has become the focus of protest against the racist attacks by the Shankerite board members. On Sunday, Oct. 6, parents and community-control activists marched through the housing projects along Avenues D and C calling on people to support the boycott and sit-in at P.S. 188. At one point the crowd grew to about 500 people.

On the following morning six of the district's 20 schools were closed down by parents.

## Center of power

Among those participating in the support activity outside P.S. 188 was Claudio Tavarez, one of the paraprofessionals laid off this fall. He told me, "The sit-in and the boycotts are the type of mass pressure that can force the central board of education to reverse the Shankerite attack."

He pointed out that during the first week of school, when Berger and Fletcher were first fired, a boycott at P.S. 188 won their reinstatement. "Of course we had other actions too, like the city-wide rally at the central board of education headquarters in Brooklyn."

I asked him about demonstrations that some supporters of the community-control struggle have held to pressure white merchants in the Orchard Street area of the school district to support the struggle.

"What's involved here," Tavarez explained, "is the misconception that the center of power in the district rests with the merchants on Orchard Street, most of whom are Jewish. Some supporters of the struggle think we can force these merchants to put pressure on the racist school board by organizing pickets outside their stores and distributing leaflets demanding that they support community control of the schools."

"The problem is that the real power behind the racist school board doesn't lie with these shopkeepers. In fact the real power is outside the district. It can be found at the UFT headquarters up on Park Avenue."

Tavarez recalled that the racist board members were selected and financed by the Shankerite leadership of the UFT. "They continue to get their orders from Shanker," he added.

"Shanker, who was just elected president of the UFT's parent organization, the American Federation of Teachers, has plenty of muscle to throw at the parents. He can also expect some favors from Mayor Abraham Beame, whom he helped to elect, and he's in cahoots with the central board of education."

"These are the forces that are behind the attack on the parents and should be the target of our protests. Of course it is true that it would be effective to win support from the merchants. We should welcome their support although experience has shown that they are not particularly reliable allies."

"But the real strength of our struggle lies in the mobilization of masses of parents."

Tavarez told of a recent demonstration, when 30 community activists gathered outside one of the schools and considered marching to Orchard Street. "But they changed their minds and marched instead to P.S. 188, where the sit-in is taking place and where parents need support. That was far more valuable," he said.

## Serious danger

"Although these actions at Orchard Street have really been peripheral to the main struggles taking place," Tavarez said, "there is a serious danger involved in these actions. This danger has been increased by the fact that some of the demonstrators chant that if the merchants don't support the struggle they'll 'get' Orchard Street," he said.

"Shanker's strategy has been to falsely accuse the parents and Fuentes

of anti-Semitism. If an agent provocateur were to heave a brick into a window down there, or something worse, during a pro-community-control demonstration, the Shankerites would launch a hysterical campaign to brand the entire parents' struggle as anti-Semitic."

"Because the merchants are the target of the demonstrations, it would be very difficult to explain to the public that this wasn't true. The real goals of the struggle would not be clear."

*Socialist Workers campaign committee opens storefront on Lower East Side. For story see page 20.*

The favorable publicity and support the parents won last spring during the election campaign could be wiped out very quickly.

"This would give Shanker an opening to drive a wedge between the community-control forces and potential allies throughout the city."

"In addition to relying on the united strength of the parents, I think it would be effective to try to win more supporters among teachers," he said. "Opposition to Shanker inside his own organization would threaten him more than a few concerned shopkeepers."

"There are signs that a number of teachers, particularly those threatened with cutbacks, but also those who respect the fired supervisors, are upset with UFT policy in the district. A major effort to win them to the side of the community would undercut one of Shanker's most powerful weapons, the division between parents and teachers."



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Enraged parents shake fists at racist school board members, who appeared on TV screens rather than directly face community.



# ...Black leaders demand federal troops be

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The racists are trying to defend their special privileges and to deny Black children the right to a better education. Not since the height of the Southern civil rights movement has the struggle been joined so fiercely.

And this time the battleground over desegregation is in the North—in a city bearing the reputation of being the "cradle of liberty."

The stakes in this struggle are enormous, not only for Boston but for the entire country. This is the first time in years that the racists have tried to prevent court-ordered school desegregation by means of mob violence. If they are successful here, it will encourage attacks against Blacks in other parts of the country.

A sense of urgency is growing in the Black community here, and there is an increasing insistence that the racist

A public meeting on the subject: "Little Rock 1957—Boston 1974" will be held Friday, Oct. 18, at 8 p.m. at 655 Atlantic Ave. in Boston. Speaking will be Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, and Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. Donation, \$1. For further information call 617-482-8050.

offensive be beaten back by whatever means are necessary.

Prominent Black leaders and Black community organizations have called for a march against the racists to take place Sunday, Oct. 13, beginning at 1:30 p.m. at Carter's Playground near Carter's Field, and going to the Boston Common.

## Lynch mobs

The buildup of racist passions has been reflected in the mounting size and confidence of the white mobs; in their taunts of "Niggers, go home"; in the rocks and sticks that they hurl at buses carrying Black school children; in the appearance of roving bands of whites searching out lone Blacks to attack; in the rifle shots fired by white night riders into the Black housing development at Colum-

bia Point; and in the friendly reception given to Ku Klux Klan leaders who hurried to South Boston at the smell of racist terror.

But it was on Monday, Oct. 7, that a genuine lynch mob was formed and a Black man nearly lost his life. Jean-Louis Andre Yvon, a Black immigrant from Haiti, was driving his car, en route to pick up his wife at work, when he ran afoul of the racist mob in South Boston.

"There's one, get him!" the shouts rang out. "Get the nigger!" The crowd surrounded his car. "They're going to get him!" came the cry from the back of the crowd.

Yvon locked the car doors, but the mob smashed the windows, dragged him out, and began beating him mercilessly, kicking and punching.

## 'Going to be dead'

Somehow Yvon managed to escape for a moment. The mob was in hot pursuit. A cop fired some shots into the air, and the mob pulled back for a while, hesitating. But the lynch cries soon resounded again. "Offer him up! Offer him up!" By then, however, a few more cops arrived on the scene, and Yvon was led to safety. "He was going to be dead if I didn't [fire]," said the cop afterwards.

Yvon's ordeal, while the most serious, is not the only such incident. On several occasions Black taxi and bus drivers have been attacked by white bands. In Jamaica Plain, buses carrying Black students have been stoned and a bullet was fired through the front entrance of the high school. White mobs have also stoned buses in Dorchester, Forest Hills, and Roslindale.

The response of Boston's Democratic Mayor Kevin White has been to capitulate to the racists' violence. He told a delegation of Black parents Oct. 9, "The Boston police can no longer contain the situation in South Boston." White "advised" the Black parents to simply keep their children home.

In face of the mounting racist violence and the unwillingness of government officials to assure protection for Black students, the response of the Black community has been one of mounting anger, particularly among Black youth.



Black students coming to school in defiance of racist mobs

One hundred seventy-five Black students held a meeting at Boston University Oct. 9 and called a protest rally for Oct. 11 in front of the student union. A broadly sponsored rally against the racist offensive has been called for the same date by Ujima, the Black student organization at the University of Massachusetts.

Mayor White has issued an order banning any form of demonstration in the city. But leaders of the Black Caucus in the state legislature have declared that the Oct. 13 march will take place whether or not they receive a parade permit.

## Demand federal troops

Coupled with the increasing sentiment for mass action has been the widespread feeling in the Black community that federal troops are needed to protect the rights and safety of the Black students.

This conviction was reflected in the call issued yesterday by members of

the Black Caucus in the state legislature for 8,000 to 10,000 troops to be sent here. In Boston, a coalition of Black organizations has appealed to the 16-member Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) in Washington to use their authority in support of the demand for federal troops to ensure the safety of Black students.

The organizations issuing the appeal include the NAACP, the Black Ministerial Alliance, the five-member state legislative Black Caucus, and residents of the Columbia Point housing projects.

In a letter to the CBC they cite the "unwillingness of the city's elected officials to fulfill their obligations to protect and support our Black community's pursuit of public education for our youth."

"Requests for federal intervention have been directed to local and federal authorities," the letter continues. "We are in dire need of your support in Washington. . . ."

If the troops are sent, it will be

# KKK scum in Boston: 'Real issue is niggers'

By ELIZABETH STONE

BOSTON—The Ku Klux Klan, the white terrorist group considered by many in this "cradle of liberty" as a vestige of the Southern segregation struggles, made its appearance in Boston several weeks ago.

In the all-white section of Dorchester, where antibusing racists are strong, a Klan-sponsored rally attracted hun-

dreds of wildly cheering bigots.

The scene at the rally was described by reporter Joe Klein in the Oct. 2 issue of a Boston weekly, the *Real Paper*. David Duke, national director of the Knights of the KKK, greeted the crowd by screaming, "White people . . . we are going to win a great victory in South Boston for the white race. . . ."



Klu Klux Klan members have flocked to 'cradle of liberty'

Cheers and the waving of beer bottles followed, along with chants of "Here we go, Southie, here we go. . . ." Southie is a widely used term for South Boston.

Duke continued, "The tide is beginning to turn against forced race-mixing. It is our duty as white people, proud of our heritage, to help return civilization to this continent. The federal government is taking little white children out of their homes and sending them into Black jungles. . . ." Another wild cheer.

"We don't believe Negroes fit into modern society," Duke said.

"They're not Negroes," a voice yelled out. "In Southie, we call them niggers!"

The Klansman responded, "The real issue isn't education, the real issue isn't a school here or a school there . . . the real issue is niggers!" The crowd roared its approval.

The Klansman continued, railing against Black "cannibals" with "bones in their noses." The crowd took up the chant "Boneheads . . . Boneheads . . . Boneheads."

Duke summed up by asking everyone to join the Klan. "If you don't believe that little white girls should

go to school with a bunch of apes, then stand up for your rights as white people—join the Klan and help us fight race-mixing."

Not many did sign up to join the Klan, and the day after the rally the out-of-town Klansmen were gone from Boston. But the response to them was one reflection of the depth of the racist hysteria here.

Gone is any pretense that the issue is "neighborhood schools vs. busing." Racist City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks and several other capitalist politicians of her ilk recently released a "Statement of Clarification" that cited the high crime rate in the Black community as the real reason for opposition to busing. They claim that a hundred Black murderers of white people are walking the streets of Roxbury unapprehended.

After spending several days following the Klansmen around Boston, reporter Klein commented that the Klan rhetoric differed little from that of the Boston racist politicians like Hicks. Klein said the "most famous white terrorist organization in the country had come to town and seemed only a little bit more wild-eyed and irrational than the established politicians."



# sent to Boston

the first use in a Northern city of federal troops to enforce court-ordered desegregation.

However, Mayor White has limited himself to the paltry request for 125 U.S. marshals. Even this was denied by Judge Garrity in an Oct. 9 ruling. After Garrity's ruling, Governor Francis Sargent made available 400 state and district police.

## 'We need tanks'

The feelings of the Black community were emphatically expressed by Reverend Rafe Taylor, who said, "We need at least a division of federal troops with tanks, ack-ack guns, machine guns, grenades, and bazookas and everything else—to put down the rock throwing and intimidation."

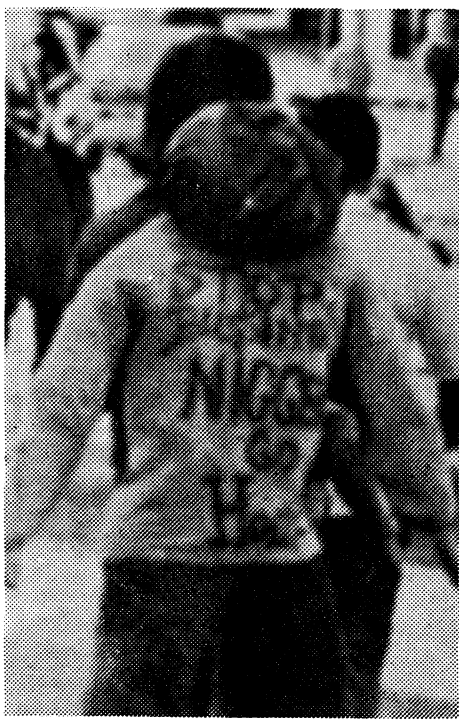
In addition to demanding federal troops, the state Black Caucus demanded contempt citations against public officials as well as private citizens who incited violence against the Black students. The caucus further demanded that the Boston city council be added as a defendant in the original desegregation suit.

## Collusion of city hall

The latter demand was in response to the fact that the racist mobilizations have been organized with the open collusion of the Boston city government and leading figures in the state Democratic Party.

The all-white, all-Democratic Boston school committee has helped to build some of the massive "antibusing" demonstrations by forcing students to take leaflets home with them and by announcing that students would be excused from school to participate in the anti-Black marches.

The all-white, all-Democratic city council has turned the council chambers over for the weekly meetings of the city-wide "antibusing" coordinating committee. When 10,000 anti-integra-



tion demonstrators took to the streets Oct. 4, the entire city council, most of the school committee, and several prominent Democratic state legislators were in the front ranks.

The response from trade-union officials so far has been either to say nothing or to support the racist attempts to block desegregation. A contingent of iron and construction workers marched in the Oct. 4 "antibusing" demonstration, and the officials of the Boston Teachers Union, the local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, has threatened a strike or work stoppage until "order is restored," rather than coming out resolutely against the racist violence.

While the extreme right wing of the Democratic Party has been providing the leadership for the racist mobilizations, the liberal wings of the Democratic and Republican parties have

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# SWP: All necessary force to stop racists!

The following statement was released in Boston Oct. 9 by Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts; Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; and Jeanne Lafferty, SWP candidate for attorney general.

We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating racist violence.

We condemn Judge Garrity's refusal to send even the woefully inadequate contingent of 125 federal marshals requested by Mayor White. In light of White's public statement that he can no longer guarantee the safety of Black children, Judge Garrity's refusal to act amounts to an open invitation to the racist lynch mobs to engage in further attacks on Black youth and the Black community as a whole.

We also wholeheartedly support the march and rally called by the legislative Black Caucus for this Sunday (Oct. 13) at 1:30 p.m. at Carter's Playground. We will participate in the demonstration and we pledge to use our access to the public as candidates to help make the demonstration as big and broad as possible.

The near-lynching of Jean-Louis Andre Yvon by a howling mob on Mon-

schools." This is a lie. The events in Boston have torn the facade from the "antibusing" movement and exposed it for what it is everywhere: a racist, violent campaign to maintain white privileges in the schools and reverse any motion toward guaranteeing the constitutional rights of Black citizens.

The elected Democratic and Republican politicians share responsibility for the racist campaign in Boston. Their failure to act to halt it, their continued efforts to downplay the extent and significance of the racist offensive, and their adoption of the antibusing rhetoric of the racists have all served to embolden the mobs.

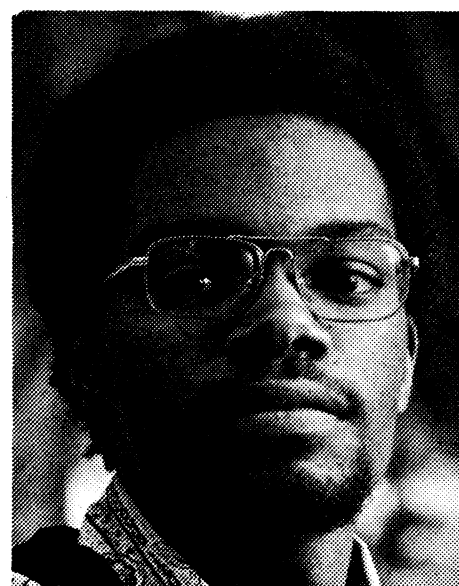
Especially scandalous is the role of Senator Kennedy, which epitomizes the treachery of the liberals. Kennedy, who is quick to voice support for civil rights marchers in Alabama or in Mississippi, has refused to throw his considerable authority unequivocally on the side of the right of Boston Black students to attend school.

While he has "deplored violence," he refused to make a firm and unambiguous appeal to all residents of Boston to mobilize against the racist offensive and defend the rights of Black children to go to school.

The Democratic and Republican politicians have urged the Black community to "keep cool" and not do anything that could "provoke trouble."



Socialist Workers Party candidates Donald Gurewitz (left) and Ollie Bivins



## Blacks recount racist attacks

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON, Oct. 9—Two rows of beefy white tactical police stood alongside the 12 school buses, swinging their batons and donning glossy blue helmets. Several paunchy sergeants paced nervously, static and voices occasionally crackling over their walkie-talkies.

A crowd of 75, mainly Black youths, was milling about, awaiting the bell that would end the school day at English High near Roxbury, where the day before cops had rioted and rampaged through the adjacent Black community following a string of fist fights that erupted at the school.

Calm, however, prevailed today. The buzzer sounded, but no more than 150 students spilled out to walk home or board the buses, far fewer than the school's 2,000-student capacity.

Fifteen-year-old Ricky Williams was in the crowd, and he told what had happened the day before. "For some reason, somebody pulled the fire alarm," he said, "then everybody ran outside. That was before noon."

"There was a white dude in there with a pipe," one student had told the *Boston Globe*.

Suddenly, fights between Black and white students broke out on the school lawn. "Lots of them," Ricky Williams recalled. He had earlier been suspended for a near fight with a white student who had cursed him for no reason. The white student was only reprimanded. "Then the cops began going around on their scooters hitting the

brothers," he said.

Mary Wells, a Black mother who witnessed the events, told of one incident where a cop had pounded a Black youth to the ground and kept beating him. A young Black woman raced to his aid, Wells recalled, but the cop raised his club at her threateningly. She backed off.

Wells is a school bus monitor. She rides a bus with Black youngsters into South Boston to and from school. She told of times her bus had been stoned by white racists there.

Once, "they had a pile of rocks up to here," she said, raising her arm to her waist. "The bus driver couldn't turn quick enough," she recalled, and the rocks flew. The driver managed to speed away and no one was hurt.

In times like that, she said, "you just hit the floor and cover up."

Yesterday, there was only one Black student who rode the yellow school bus into South Boston. Black parents had kept their children home because of the lynch-mob attack on the Black motorist there.

"There was more police riding alongside the bus than ever before," Wells said. The police, she said, "had to take him [the student] to the classroom, take him to the bathroom, everything!"

Wells said she backs the school desegregation plan, but wishes there weren't so many "hatin' white folks," as she termed them. Asked if she supported the call for federal troops, she replied, "What else is there?"

day illustrates the murderous escalation of the racist mobilization. Anti-Black hysteria has reached a fever pitch. Bands of hoodlums are assaulting Blacks.

In this atmosphere, federal troops must be sent immediately to uphold the desegregation order and to protect the Black students who are implementing it. All necessary force must be used to smash the racist offensive and guarantee the safety and constitutional rights of Black people in this city.

In light of the complete failure of the city and state officials to provide protection to Boston's Black community, and in light of the continued refusal of public officials to take decisive action to protect Black students, we completely support any steps taken by the Black community to organize its own self-defense. The residents of Columbia Point recently found it necessary to organize their own observation patrols to protect the community from racist white vigilantes and to watch every move the cops make.

Far from ending racist violence, the cops have been rampaging through the Black community carrying out vicious attacks on Blacks. We fully support the right of Blacks to take measures to defend themselves against all racist attacks.

The racists claimed that the protests are simply "for neighborhood

This has made it easier for the racists to mobilize with complete impunity.

What is needed to begin to change the atmosphere in this city is for the Black community and all supporters of civil rights to take the offensive.

The gains of the civil rights movement were the result of mass actions, exerting moral and political pressure on the government to act to stop racist attacks. The major civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s—in Southern cities such as Little Rock and Selma—became the focus of national and international attention and concern.

Boston is the Little Rock and Selma of 1974.

We appeal to backers of civil rights and opponents of racism throughout the entire country to take action in solidarity with the Black students here, and in support of the demand issued by Black leaders for federal troops.

We appeal to students across the country to support the struggle—as they did the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

And we appeal especially to the labor movement to throw its strength on the side of the rights of the Black people of Boston.

The stakes in Boston are high, and getting higher. The outcome of the struggle here will have an impact far beyond the city of Boston. The time for action is now.

## How to stop repeat of Chile bloodbath

# Portuguese revolution at crossroads

By CAROLINE LUND

The Portuguese revolution is at a crossroad. The coup attempt headed by former president António de Spínola, and the mass mobilization that blocked it, have opened up a process leading toward a fundamental class confrontation.

There are two possible roads ahead for the Portuguese working people. One is the extension of the independent mobilization and organization of the workers and rural poor, the deepening of revolutionary measures, and a struggle for workers power and socialism.

The other road is a continuation of the policies of the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties; that is, continued reliance on the capitalist provisional government and the armed forces to protect the gains made by the people since the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship last April.

With the latter perspective, it will only be a matter of time before Portugal becomes another Chile. The working people, unprepared politically or organizationally, will face a new, better prepared, rightist coup, accompanied by an orgy of slaughter and torture that could be even worse than under the Salazarist regime.

What is at stake goes far beyond the borders of Portugal, both for the side of the workers and for the imperialist rulers.

A defeat for the Portuguese people will be a defeat for the liberation struggles throughout Africa and a blow to workers' struggles in Europe.

The imperialists well understand the importance of what happens in Portugal. In the context of their problems of world economic crisis and instability, the continuing workers upsurge in Portugal has them worried. They fear the example it can set in crisis-racked Europe—especially for the masses of Greece, Italy, and, of course, Spain.

The revelations about CIA intervention in Chile show that Washington will not hesitate to work with the most vicious, mercenary forces if it fears that capitalism is threatened.

### Masses blocked coup

The events surrounding Spínola's Sept. 28 coup attempt show that the only way to preserve the gains made by the Portuguese people is to deepen the independent mobilization and organization of the working class.

Neither the Armed Forces Movement nor the Communist Party—the two pillars of the Portuguese provisional government—were responsible for blocking the rightist offensive. It was the countermobilization of the masses that did it.

In what the *New York Times* called a spirit of "revolutionary anarchy," workers, students, and soldiers, including many CP and SP members, spontaneously took to the streets to halt the rightist demonstration in support of Spínola. They checked vehicles coming into Lisbon and persuaded thousands of citizens to turn back from attending the scheduled rally. Transport workers halted the buses and trains that could have carried the rightists into Lisbon.

Because of the pressure and thoroughness of the mass mobilization, arms caches were discovered in rightist strongholds. It became clear that the Sept. 28 demonstration was to be only a cover for a coup attempt by reactionary elements.

The aborted coup has starkly revealed the criminal role of the Portuguese Communist and Socialist

parties. Ever since the overthrow of the Salazarist regime last April, they have told the masses to trust in Spínola's provisional government and the Armed Forces Movement.

Now, taking the credit for the initiatives of the masses, the Stalinists claim to have led the smashing of the rightist plot. And they now admit in their paper *Avante*—after Spínola has been exposed—that ever since April the general they were lauding "had never accepted the existence of a democratic government and of a people exercising freedom."

### CP prepared the way

Far from preventing the coup attempt, the CP and the generals who are its allies have pursued policies since April that paved the way for the rightist offensive, just as the Stalinists prepared the way for the bloody coup in Chile.

The Stalinists' role flows from their class-collaborationist program, which says that the central task in Portugal is the consolidation of a liberal capitalist regime. While falsely claiming to be Communists, they do not think

dence for Portugal's African colonies. They opposed demonstrations by soldiers and students demanding withdrawal from Africa.

The CP's holding back of the workers allowed the capitalist forces and the military to proceed with impunity with a systematic crackdown on the democratic rights won by the masses since April. In June, press censorship was reintroduced. In August, an anti-strike law was decreed, outlawing political strikes, plant occupations, and strikes in solidarity with workers in other industries.

Portugal's new president, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, whom the Stalinists are now lauding, comes from the same school as Spínola. He was commander in chief of the Portuguese occupation forces in Angola from 1970 to 1972, and then became chief of staff of the Salazarist armed forces.

When he took over from Spínola, he paid tribute to the putschist general as his "comrade in arms" and his "constant friend."

This is the leadership the Stalinists urge the workers to look to for protec-

tion moved forward in struggles that tended to go in the direction of socialist measures. While the reformists tried to hold the workers back from organizing to defend themselves, the capitalist rulers became alarmed at the militancy of the masses and launched the bloody coup of Sept. 11.

The Stalinist journalist Wilfred Burdett reported in the Oct. 9 *Guardian* that he asked Portuguese CP leader Alvaro Cunhal "whether there was not a danger of a Chile-type coup" now in Portugal. Cunhal said he thought such a coup "could not succeed because of the unity around the Armed Forces Movement program and the unity between the people and the armed forces."

This is exactly the story that the Stalinists in Chile had told the Chilean workers before the armed forces carried out the bloodbath.

### Tactical disagreements

The differences between Spínola and Costa Gomes reflect tactical differences within the Portuguese ruling class. One section feels the "democratization" and "decolonization" process was going too far too fast, threatening to set into



Six thousand Lisnave shipyard workers march against antistrike law supported by Stalinists

socialist revolution is on the order of the day in Portugal or anywhere else.

The CP's view was expressed by Portuguese Stalinist leader Alvaro Cunhal in an interview printed last month in *Time* magazine. He declared, "Our goal is not the conquest of power. Our first goal is the restoration of democratic institutions." He referred to socialism as only "my great dream."

But the events in Portugal have demonstrated that a liberal capitalist regime cannot qualitatively change the miserable living conditions of the masses of Portuguese people. Thus the Stalinists' program of limiting the struggle to the framework of capitalist institutions and profit rights means necessarily opposing or trying to contain the struggles of workers who try to fight for solutions to such problems as inflation, unemployment, and bad conditions on the job.

Since April the Stalinists have opposed and tried to isolate any class-struggle initiatives by the workers. This policy was epitomized in June, when the government, with the aid of the Stalinists, broke the nationwide strike of 30,000 postal workers by imposing martial law on the strikers.

The Stalinists covered up for the junta's stalling on granting indepen-

tion against another coup attempt by Spínola or other reactionaries!

The Stalinists have not been able to put over these treacherous policies, however, without facing serious resistance from the workers.

Newspaper workers from the *Journal do Comercio* have sustained a strike since mid-August despite government threats. In early September, workers on most other major papers in the country defied the ban on sympathy walkouts to come to the aid of the strikers in what became the first general strike of the press since 1926.

In mid-September about 6,000 shipyard workers defied the CP and the government by marching through the center of Lisbon demanding abolition of the antistrike law and a purge of collaborators with the old regime.

The situation in Portugal is similar in many respects to that in Chile under the Allende regime. There too the Communist and Socialist parties did their best to contain a powerful workers upsurge within the bounds of the capitalist system. The CP and SP told the workers to trust in the army and the capitalist parliament.

At the same time, believing they had a government that represented the masses of people, the Chilean workers

motion mass struggles that would go beyond capitalism.

The other section, represented by Costa Gomes, feels that things aren't yet that bad for the capitalist system, that flexibility is called for, and that a show of ruling-class intransigence would carry a greater threat of setting into motion the powerful working-class forces.

It is unclear as yet which view will prevail among the Portuguese rulers or which is the judgment of their imperialist advisers. It is well-known, however, that the CIA is very active in Portugal, and the *Voice of America* radio station did its best to promote the rightist mobilization scheduled for Lisbon Sept. 28.

At this critical juncture in the development of the Portuguese revolution, the working class can rely only on their own organized power to prevent a new and terrible reactionary offensive.

The great need is for a revolutionary party to be built in the course of the coming struggles. A party based on a class-struggle program, that can win thousands of militant workers from the bankrupt CP and SP leaderships. A party that has the program and the will to lead the struggle to a socialist victory.



## Interview with union official

# What miners are seeking in new contract

In the following interview, Ed Heisler, a railroad worker who is the Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator, discusses problems facing miners with Gerald Hawkins of the United Mine Workers (UMW). Hawkins is a field representative for the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) in UMW districts 11 and 12 (Indiana and Illinois).

The interview took place in Springfield, Ill., in August, a few weeks before the UMW began national contract talks with the soft-coal companies. The current UMW contract will expire Nov. 12.

**Heisler:** What are some of the biggest problems facing mine workers?

**Hawkins:** The biggest problem is safety. We only have 120,000 working miners and once every three days one of our members is killed. In fact, more than 100,000 have been killed since they began keeping records. We simply say, "That's enough!" In our new contract, the coal's going to be mined safely or not at all.

Of course, what we're up against are the large conglomerates—giants. A lot of the coal industry is owned by the oil industry. When the old contract's up, we're going to be dealing with the Monterey Coal Company here, which is owned by Exxon.

**Heisler:** Carl Bagge, the president of the National Coal Association, recently said this country cannot afford a national coal strike because there's an "energy shortage." It sounded to me like an excuse to break the strike. What's the attitude of the coal operators in the negotiations?

**Hawkins:** If they bargain in good faith, we could get a contract without a strike. But it doesn't look like they



'The younger miners want more and they are more militant.'

United Mine Workers Journal

want to bargain in good faith.

We want mine safety and we want a contract we can understand. Nobody, not even lawyers, can read and understand our contracts, much less coal miners.

**Heisler:** It sounds to me like our railroad contracts! Our contracts were intentionally written in language we can't understand, and are subject to a million and one different interpretations.

**Hawkins:** That's the way ours are. We can't understand them so we have a lot of wildcat strikes to enforce them.

We have to wildcat one month a year just to get the company to live up to the contract. So the miners are set and prepared for a long strike if need be.

**Heisler:** What if you strike and Congress passes a law ordering you back to work?

**Hawkins:** We have a tradition—no contract, no work. I don't see that changing.

**Heisler:** Has there been a change of attitude in the United Mine Workers in the past couple of years?

**Hawkins:** You mean a change in attitude toward the coal operators and the government?

**Heisler:** Yes.

**Hawkins:** We've had an expansion of the coal industry in the past four or five years. Consequently, they had to get younger miners to fill the new jobs. That's why miners are a little more militant. I'd say the younger people are better educated, they want more, and they are more militant.

**Heisler:** Now, here's a touchy question. How do you feel about the strip-mining bill in Congress?

**Hawkins:** We just had 2,000 miners out on strike against that bill in Illinois. The coal operators went and told a lot of our members that they would have to shut down the mines if the bill passed. That simply is not true. A lot of the miners were misinformed and thought they would lose their jobs.

Nationally, the UMW position is this: If the land can be mined and returned to a reasonable condition, O. K. If it can't, it shouldn't be strip-mined.

The coal operators have never returned any land back to decent condition. They will not do it unless they're forced to. We support a nationwide minimum-standard land reclamation bill because it will create jobs and no one will lose their job.

**Heisler:** UMW President Arnold Miller recently said that we've got to go out and organize the unorganized workers. Do you think we're going to see some major organizing drives in the future?

**Hawkins:** I think so. I think that we

*Continued on page 26*

## Brooklyn Polytechnic workers win union shop

By JAMES MENDIETA  
and CAROL LISKER

NEW YORK—Maintenance, clerical, and technical workers affiliated with Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) voted unanimously to end a 16-day strike at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute Sept. 19.

In their first contract negotiated as a labor union, they won a union shop, wage increases, a modified four-day workweek in the summer, and a number of benefits, including in-shop job vacancy postings and partial payment of medical insurance by the school.

Before the strike, Brooklyn Polytechnic was an open shop where only 119 of the eligible 228 workers were

union members. Now all 228 belong to the union.

The wages of the lowest paid workers have been increased from \$75 to \$100 a week, and will rise to \$117 a week by the end of the two-year contract period.

Support for the strike was strong at Brooklyn Polytechnic, where workers in Local 30 of the engineers union refused to cross the picket lines.

Many students and faculty also supported the strike. The faculty voted to stay out of their classrooms, but they were forced back to work by the school's board of directors. Students invited union members to speak to their classes about the strike, but the

administration effectively barred such meetings from taking place.

One unfortunate aspect of the strike was the stance taken by the union toward foreign students enrolled in special work-study programs at the school.

Many of these students, who have recently been prohibited by the U.S. Immigration Service from holding regular summer jobs, continued to work during the strike. The union claimed that the administration was trying to use the foreign students to scab in the strike, and called upon the Immigration Service to investigate this.

When the Immigration Service declared that the students were involved

in genuine work-study programs and were not strikebreaking, the union dropped the issue.

In general, the Immigration Service is only too happy to help out the bosses by harassing and deporting foreign workers that it has deemed "troublemakers." It will use any method at hand, including that of posing as pro-labor or neutral, to reinforce chauvinist, racist hysteria about "foreign workers taking away American jobs."

The labor movement should guard against this kind of "help" and instead deal with the problem of scabbing by educating the entire working class, citizens and noncitizens alike, about the necessity of working-class solidarity.

## Students back strike by campus workers in Chicago

By NEIL DAVID

CHICAGO—Two hundred students and workers marched across the University of Chicago campus Oct. 2 to demand that university president Levi agree to the wage demands of striking maintenance and electrical workers.

The march culminated in a rally in front of the university law school, where Levi was addressing the incoming class.

The demonstration was organized by a strike support committee in conjunction with 320 striking campus workers in Local 321, Service Employees International Union, and Local 134, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

At the rally, union leaders and rank-

and-file members explained the university's refusal to grant a wage increase that would keep up with inflation, and condemned university efforts to bust the unions.

Messages of solidarity were heard from the campus clerical workers organizing committee, the United Farm Workers, United Auto Workers Local 6, and others.

Rachel Rosen, a student and chairwoman of the strike support committee, explained the need to organize campus opinion on the side of the workers. The meeting was chaired by Garrett Brown, a member of the group's steering committee and the University of Chicago Young Socialist Alliance.

Inside, a dinner that had been scheduled to precede Levi's talk had to be canceled, as cafeteria workers refused to prepare the meal while the strike was on.

The next day the union voted by 124 to 102 to accept a two-year contract with an 8.5 percent wage increase the first year and 7 percent the next.

Almost all union members were unhappy with the offer, as few believe that the fires of inflation will be put out in that time. However, faced with the possibility of a protracted struggle with no strike fund and little aid from the district council, the majority voted to return.

# L.A. transit strikers hold fast despite union-busting attacks

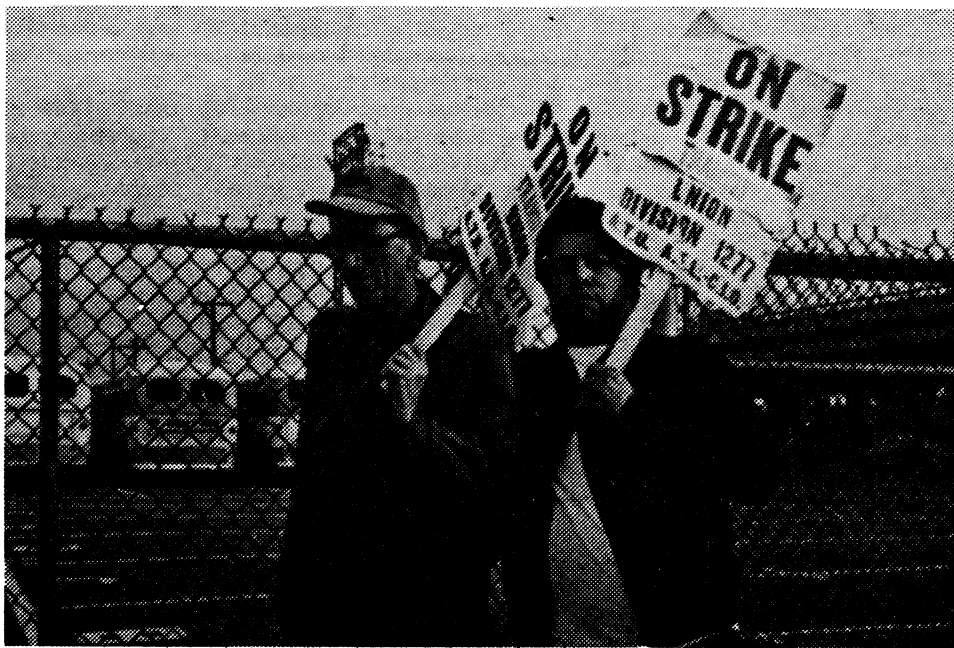
By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 6—Striking bus drivers and mechanics are holding fast here in the face of a concerted union-busting effort designed to cut away at the right of public employees to strike.

The 3,300 drivers and 700 mechanics have been out since Aug. 12. Their walkout is solid and has completely shut down the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD). The RTD services nearly 700,000 commuters in Los Angeles and three adjoining counties.

The workers, whose wage scale ranks thirty-third among transportation workers nationally, are demanding catch-up wage increases.

A central issue that has emerged in the strike has been their resolute insistence on a meaningful cost-of-living



Bus drivers and mechanics want catch-up wage increases, cost-of-living escalator

## AS WE GO TO PRESS:

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8—According to negotiating session reports, a tentative agreement has been reached between striking bus mechanics and the Southern California Rapid Transit Division (RTD). The agreement is subject to ratification by the membership.

Negotiations are continuing between striking bus drivers and the RTD, with city officials indicating that an agreement is expected. If the mechanics accept the proposed agreement, they will not return to work until the drivers settle.

escalator clause to help cope with soaring inflation. The RTD wants to virtually scrap the present one.

The strike was deliberately forced by the RTD, a state-created agency. Prior to the walkout, "negotiations" were conducted for 135 days before management made its first offer. When the offer came it was so bad that the walkout quickly followed.

The strike has been on for eight weeks and management has made clear it doesn't care how long it continues. It simply stands by its original offer, which was clearly designed to be unacceptable.

Meanwhile, the politicians and the media have developed a deep—if new-found—"concern" for the people who ride the buses. A push is under way to whip up enough sentiment to either force the strikers to accept binding arbitration or to ram a no-strike measure through the state legislature making such binding arbitration compulsory.

The move to impose binding arbitration was first put forward by management. But it was Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, a liberal Black Democrat, who tried to con the workers into accepting it. First he hired a \$500-a-day professional arbitrator who spent 10 days drawing his pay while the RTD management refused

to budge. Bradley then asked the officials of the two striking unions to call a special membership meeting where he could present a proposal to end the strike.

Virtually the entire union membership turned out on a day's notice to hear the mayor's proposition to return to work and leave their fate in the hands of some "public-spirited" arbitrator whose findings would be binding.

The unionists voted angrily and overwhelmingly to reject this. In interviews with the media as they streamed out of the meeting, strikers said they knew they would be swindled in such arbitration. A number emphasized that they considered acceptance of the cost-of-living clause a precondition for a return to work.

Bradley then traveled to the state capitol in Sacramento where he urged the legislature, just in the process of adjourning, to put through a law that would force binding arbitration on the union.

That effort was not successful. But Governor Ronald Reagan has now entered the picture. He has just proposed that the strikers resume work pending arbitration. The initial response by union officials indicates this too will be rejected. There may then be a move to reconvene the legislature to get a compulsory arbitration bill through. Bradley, meanwhile, had been making TV appeals for the public to demand such a state law.

The RTD management has a well-established antilabor record. It has forced a strike prior to each contract it has signed. Now it has a particular reason for trying to deal a blow to the two unions involved.

Since the present period of accelerated inflation, there has been a growing militancy among public workers generally, and particularly in California.

The high point of this militancy was last spring's successful strike by San Francisco municipal workers—a strike that at one point threatened to become a general strike.

Following this there were successful strikes by nurses in various parts of the state.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles and San Diego, public workers won contract gains after making clear they were ready to follow the San Francisco example. These developments were particularly significant since neither Los Angeles nor San Diego has a strong union tradition.

It was in this context that the RTD management and the politicians apparently decided to try to deal a blow to the transit workers that could be a significant check on the rising tide of militancy by public workers.

While the drivers, members of the United Transportation Union, and the mechanics, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, are standing firm, their leadership has not done an effective job of exposing this union-busting plan. They have made little visible effort to rally labor and public support for the strikers.

The attitude of the RTD and its political henchmen is particularly callous. The drivers have a base wage of \$5.32 an hour, and the mechanics, \$6.37. With today's cost of living, the drivers can certainly justify their demand for a 39 percent increase over a two-year period, and the mechanics for 46 percent.

This is particularly so in view of their conditions of work. The bus drivers work an eight-hour day that is spread over 12 or 13 hours. Each day they have to hang around the car barn unpaid during the four- or five-hour split in their shift.

They have already lost eight weeks' wages since the strike began, money they can ill afford to lose. Their continuing solidarity in this situation is eloquent testimony to how deeply they are convinced of the justice of their cause.

And their demand for a meaningful escalator clause is one that certainly should evoke a response from everyone who has to suffer the experience of regular visits to the supermarket.

The union has also the responsibility to expose the crocodile tears of the RTD, the politicians, and the media about the suffering of the bus riders.

Certainly the strike does create difficulties for many. In Los Angeles, the great majority of those dependent on the buses are the people who are too poor to own a car, or too old or too young to drive.

But if the RTD gave a damn about these people they would meet the just demands of the strikers. And if the politicians and media were honestly concerned about the bus riders, they would direct their fire against the one responsible for the situation—the RTD.

# Houston CLUW to fight antiunion law

By JILL FEIN

HOUSTON—At the founding conference of the Houston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), 40 women from 15 unions voted to wage a campaign against the Texas "right-to-work" law and to initiate action with the AFL-CIO in support of the agency shop. The meeting was held Sept. 28 at the hall of Lodge 15 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

"Houston is the sixth largest city in the country and one of the most highly industrialized, but one of the weakest in terms of organized labor," said Debby Leonard in her opening remarks to the conference. Leonard is a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union and a member of the national steering committee of CLUW. "We want to be a part of every organizing drive in this city that involves women workers and we want to push our unions to organize in areas where many women are employed."

"We are launching a campaign against the so-called right-to-work law—or the 'right-to-work-for-less' law—which hurts working women particularly," she continued. "It especially hurts our Black and Chicano sisters, since they hold the lowest-paid jobs and are the least organized."

Greetings were read to the conference from several people, including Harry Hubard, president of the Texas AFL-CIO.

Following a report by Delores Woods, Texas state convener of CLUW, on the national coordinating committee meeting held in Chicago Sept. 20-21, the meeting broke down into workshop discussions.

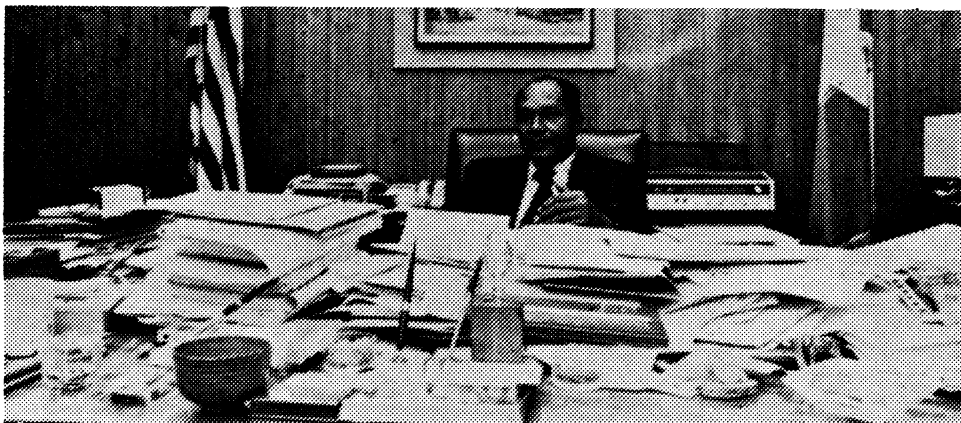
Resolutions from the workshops that were unanimously approved included: Reaffirming CLUW's support for the Equal Rights Amendment, which is under attack in Texas; establishing a standing committee to promote organizing the unorganized; and urging the AFL-CIO to pay particular attention to women and minorities in all its publications.

The most important resolution passed was the proposal made by Liz Kimmel, assistant business manager of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1550, stating that CLUW will initiate action with the AFL-CIO to support the agency shop.

Texas is one of the 19 states that have so-called right-to-work laws. It provides that no one may be denied employment because of nonmembership in a union, effectively outlawing the union shop. "Right-to-work" laws have one major aim: to keep down the level of wages and salaries by weakening unions and undermining collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO is trying to have an agency shop bill passed by the Texas legislature. This would allow unions to organize shops where every worker would have to either join the union or pay the union the equivalent of membership dues.

The evening of the conference a party was held and attended by 100 people from 25 different unions. The event raised \$450 to help carry out the plans outlined by Houston CLUW.



Mayor Thomas Bradley is working overtime to break strike with compulsory arbitration scheme.



# Activists discuss strategy and tactics for Coalition of Labor Union Women

By CINDY JAQUITH

One of the most inspiring aspects of the increased militancy among workers today is the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Founded last March to fight for women's rights on the job, CLUW has already shown in its short existence that working women want and need such an organization.

How can CLUW become a mass organization of rank-and-file unionists? What role can it play in transforming the unions into fighting instruments to defend the interests of all working people? How can it help democratize the unions to accomplish this transformation? These are some of the questions discussed by women trade unionists active in CLUW during a panel at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. The conference, held in August in Oberlin, Ohio, was attended by 1,250 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

"There is a deepening radicalization today among women workers that is expressed in many ways—from the fights to break through the 'male only' barriers in certain jobs, to demands for maternity benefits and child-care facilities, to strike activities led and organized by women workers," said Linda Jenness, who chaired the panel. "Right now, the most important organized expression of the radicalization of women workers is CLUW."

Jenness, a national committee mem-

ber of the SWP, explained that SWP and YSA members have participated in CLUW since its inception, "doing everything we could to help build CLUW into a mass, rank-and-file organization that could begin to deal with some of the very real needs of women workers."



Militant/Ann Cirkens

Founding conference of CLUW

ber of the SWP, explained that SWP and YSA members have participated in CLUW since its inception, "doing everything we could to help build CLUW into a mass, rank-and-file organization that could begin to deal with some of the very real needs of women workers."

## Potential for CLUW

Today CLUW is still a very new organization. But the hundreds of women who have turned out for CLUW meetings in various cities indicates the potential the organization has. Clare Fraenzl, a member of Local 1488, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in Seattle, discussed some of the reasons why union women are attracted to CLUW:

"It is women workers, along with Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers, who are hit the hardest by

the stepped-up attack on our standard of living. Women suffer more from growing inflation and unemployment; statistics show that the jobless rate among women workers is twice that of men."

Working women are also increasingly identifying with the goals of women's liberation, said Fraenzl. She cited the example of the Brookside, Ky., women who played a key role in the recent United Mine Workers' strike. When asked how they got up the courage to go out on the picket lines, one Brookside woman simply replied, "Well, we seen all those women libbers picketing on television, and we didn't see why we couldn't too."

"Between the impact of feminism and the attack on our standard of living," explained Fraenzl, "working women are simply not willing to have discriminatory practices imposed on them. Women are not waiting for someone to solve their problems. They are finding solutions and demanding that the union movement help them achieve these solutions."

## Building activities

The most important task in building CLUW at this stage, panelists explained, is getting the word out to thousands of trade-union women. This means talking to co-workers, distributing literature about CLUW, holding educational meetings to attract union women, and other reach-out activities.

This work starts at the level of the local union, explained Carol DeBerry of Richmond, Calif., a member of AFSCME. "No one can be a good member and builder of CLUW without being a good builder of their own union," she said. "We want to take an active part in local union activities, addressing ourselves both to issues that primarily affect women and to issues affecting the entire membership."

"In this way, we will gain the support of male unionists and win them as allies, undercutting the possibility that they will be used against us," DeBerry said.

"CLUW is not a separate union or an organization outside the union movement, and we do not think it should become one."

She listed some of the ways unions can help CLUW, such as covering its activities in the union paper, making announcements and reports on CLUW at local meetings, sending delegates to CLUW conferences, and making financial contributions.

CLUW will also grow and gain influence through its response to strikes and other struggles affecting working women. Panelists related how CLUW women joined the picket lines of striking Bay Area nurses, solidized with the strike of Harper & Row employees in New York, and supported day-care struggles.

Many recent strikes have involved Black women, noted panelist Pat Wright, a member of AFSCME District Council 1707 in New York. She pointed out that 600 Black women attended the founding CLUW convention.

"CLUW's character as a union organization is one of the keys to Black women's participation in it," Wright said.

"The trade-union movement to date has failed to deal with the needs of women and Blacks. Black women unionists have had no place to channel their struggle, air their grievances, and get support.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Support to Bay Area nurses' strike helped Coalition of Labor Union Women reach out to activists.

"Black women join CLUW because it provides an opportunity to do something to change their situation. This is something new," Wright explained.

## Avoiding pitfalls

Stressing the fact that CLUW is still in its infancy, panelists pointed out the dangers of seeking shortcuts in building the organization. Many rank-and-file activists, for example, grow impatient when conservative union officials slow down the work of CLUW and oppose rank-and-file democracy. Some women make the mistake of thinking that attacking such misleaders is the first thing that must be done.

This erroneous view is elevated to a principle by ultraleft, sectarian groupings such as the Maoist October League and the left social-democratic International Socialists. They believe the central aim of any activity in CLUW must be to "expose the bureaucrats."

There are several things wrong with this perspective, explained Chris Hildebrand, a member of Communications Workers Local 11500 in Los Angeles. "We must not fall into the trap of lumping all union officials into one monolithic bloc and labeling it 'bureaucrat!' That doesn't get us to first base in building CLUW or moving toward a class-struggle union movement."

## Role of union officials

Union officials, she continued, have become active in CLUW for different reasons. Some of these women sincerely identify with the goals of women's liberation and want to build CLUW into a weapon for women's rights. Others are responding to pressure from women in their unions who want to see action taken on grievances. And some officials are participating in CLUW primarily to enhance their own position within the labor movement.

The important thing is not *why* the officials initiated CLUW, but the fact that they *did* initiate it. Now the job

of union militants is to build CLUW into a fighting organization for women's rights.

The panelists agreed that reaching out and recruiting rank-and-file women to CLUW is also the best way to ensure that CLUW adopts a militant perspective.

The sectarians, who claim that by "exposing the bureaucrats" they are fighting for a "real rank-and-file organization," forget one thing, said Hildebrand: to build a rank-and-file organization, you first must have a rank and file.

"In the name of fighting for 'rank-and-file democracy,'" she explained, "the sectarians try to fight the union officials on every possible issue, instead of working to gain the support of these officials for activities that can bring new women into CLUW."

"What will attract union militants to CLUW is not how loud its members denounce 'the bureaucrats,' but whether CLUW shows in action that it can get something done about the rotten conditions working women face."

In the course of the struggle, the union officials will be put to the test, she explained. Those who shrink back from the fight *will* be exposed in the eyes of the rank and file.

## Unorganized workers

Another discussion taking place in CLUW, said Hildebrand, is around the question of unorganized women workers. Since the great majority of working women are not in unions, this is an important issue for CLUW.

Should CLUW try to include non-union workers in its ranks from the outset? This is a question of tactics, Hildebrand explained. "At this point, CLUW has reached only a few thousand women with its message. There are 4.3 million women in unions, not to mention the 30 million nonunion women."

"Unless CLUW is a mass organization within the union movement, it can do little to aid in the job of organizing the unorganized. That is why building a strong union membership is the first task for CLUW."

The test of CLUW's success will be whether masses of rank-and-file trade-union women are won to its banner. As Clare Fraenzl said in concluding her talk:

"CLUW is just being born. But it gives us a glimpse of the role that women workers, awakened to the centuries of oppression they have suffered, will play in the fight to transform the union movement into an instrument that will struggle for their needs and for the needs of the working class as a whole."



Militant/Henry Snipper

'CLUW's character as union organization is one key to Black women's participation,' said Pat Wright of AFSCME.

# Open letter urges Common Cause to back SWP's fight against disclosure provisions

Reprinted below is the full text of an open letter to John Gardner, national chairman of Common Cause, the well-known "citizens' lobby" organization.

The letter, signed by a number of well-known individuals, urges Common Cause to reverse its position of seeking to force the Socialist Workers campaign committees to disclose information about their contributors.

Initial signers of the letter include former senator Eugene McCarthy, Congressmen Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and John Conyers (D-Mich.), Noam Chomsky, and Philip Berrigan.

Also signing are David Creque, executive board of the Alameda County, Calif. Central Labor Council; and Marcus Raskin, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies.

The letter is being circulated among civil libertarians, labor and Black leaders, and other prominent figures to obtain further signatures.

For printed copies of the open letter, write to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

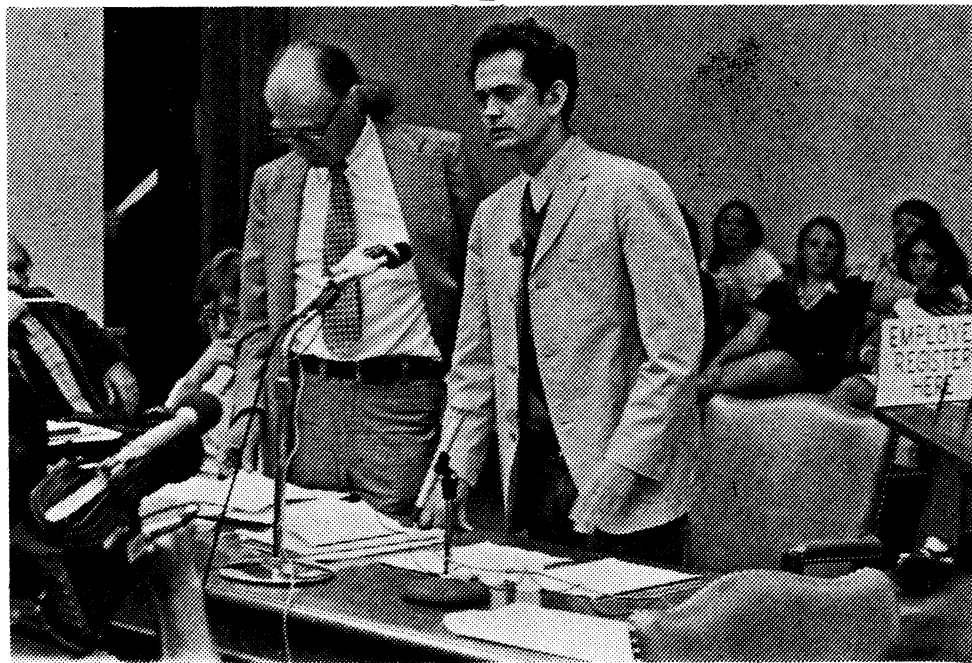
On September 10, the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in federal court to have provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 requiring disclosure of the identities of contributors declared unconstitutional as applied to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees. The suit states that the law violates freedoms of speech, association, and political anonymity by requiring the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees to turn over to the government the names

and addresses of supporters of its candidates.

By its own admission, the U. S. government has conducted various programs of surveillance and disruption of the Socialist Workers Party since 1945. People associated or identified with the SWP have been subjected to illegal wiretapping; mail tampering; loss of jobs; FBI interrogations of friends, relatives, landlords, and school authorities; and violence. Disclosure of contributors of the Socialist Workers Campaigns will provide the FBI and other police agencies with ready-made "enemies lists" for further spying, harassment, and attempts at intimidation.

Common Cause has placed itself in opposition to this effort by the SWP to protect the constitutional rights of its members and supporters. In both Washington state and Minnesota, where the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees have requested exemptions from the state disclosure laws, Common Cause has actively intervened to oppose exemption, insisting that the "public's right to know" supercedes any violation of civil liberties involved.

In a letter to the Minnesota State Ethics Commission, Kenneth J. Guido, Jr., Associate General Counsel for Common Cause, claims that an exemption for the SWP could create "a dangerous loophole that would destroy the compelling interest underlying the statute," which is to "cleanse the political process of the potentially corrupting influence of money." But contributions to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees have no con-



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Despite arguments by Common Cause, Minnesota State Ethics Commission voted unanimously to exempt SWP from disclosure of contributors. Above, national campaign treasurer Peter Camejo testifies at hearings.

nection whatsoever to the corrupting influence of the giant corporations who finance the campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans. Shielding contributors to the SWP from harassment and surveillance by the FBI, local police, or employers would in no way "set a precedent" for keeping secret the contributions of the executives of ITT or the dairy lobby.

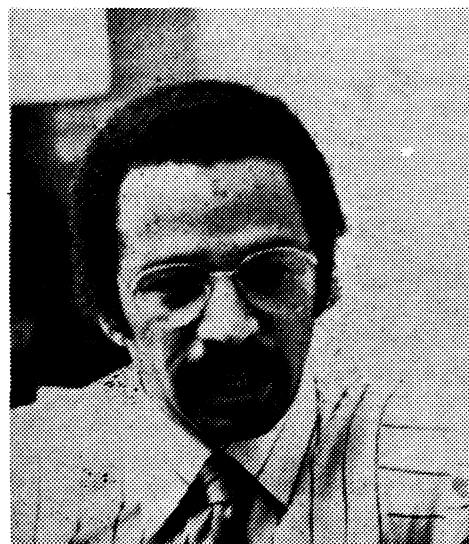
Common Cause further argues that the SWP should seek to halt the illegal harassment and spying by other means, such as the suit the SWP has filed seeking an injunction against these unconstitutional government acts, rather than challenging the disclosure requirements. But this argument doesn't hold water. The SWP's suit against FBI spying was filed over one year ago, but because of repeated government "stonewalling" and stalling, it is still only in its preliminary stages. There is no way of telling how long the government will be able to drag this case out, nor how compliant the courts will be with the administration's specious claims of the need to protect "national security" against dissenters.

But until this action brings relief in the undetermined future, according to the current Common Cause position, SWP supporters must be willing to submit themselves to having an

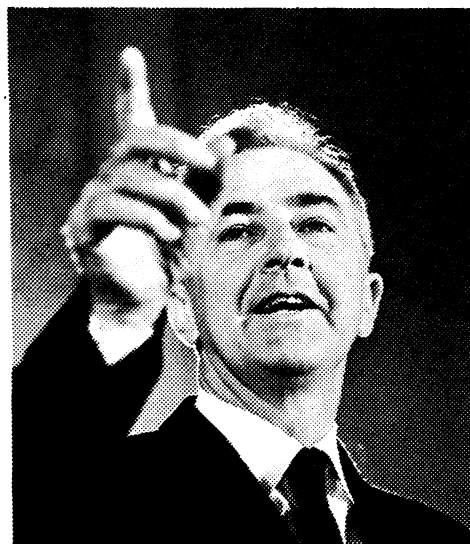
FBI file opened on them, or their phones tapped, or their mail opened, or their landlords and employers visited, as the price for exercising their constitutional rights to support the candidates of their choice.

The Socialist Workers Campaign Committees would have no objection to disclosing the names of their contributors *if and when* this government harassment ends. Until that time, it is an outrageous violation of the democratic rights of the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees, and those wishing to contribute to them, for the government to demand reports listing the names, addresses, occupation, and places of employment of contributors—lists which will be incorporated into these programs of harassment.

Common Cause has a reputation as a firm defender of the rights of the American people. For this reason it is particularly disturbing to us that on this issue you are using the prestige and resources of Common Cause to bolster a position squarely in conflict with basic civil liberties. We urge you to reverse your position and join the ACLU in supporting the right of the Socialist Workers Campaign Committees to be exempted from the disclosure provisions of the campaign finance laws.



CONYERS, MCCARTHY: Ask Common Cause to support rights of SWP



## ACLU files disclosure suit for Texas socialists

By NANCY COLE

On Sept. 30, Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, announced the filing of a suit challenging the constitutionality of the Texas campaign finance disclosure law as applied to the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

The suit, filed by the Houston American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on Oct. 1, named Secretary of State Mark White as a defendant. It came just a week after the Texas Supreme Court ruled favorably on the SWP challenge to White's attempt to keep the party off the ballot.

"In Texas we have documented dozens of incidents of harassment of our party, from the machine-gunning and bombing of our campaign office to infiltration by the Houston police to harassment by the Department of Public Safety," Smith told reporters.

She said that to give the government the names and addresses of all contributors of \$10 or more, as the disclosure law requires, would be to

turn over a new list of socialist supporters to harass.

"In our fight to get on the ballot, we won an important victory for democratic rights," Smith said. "We intend to score a second victory with this suit."

ACLU attorney Gerald Birnberg also filed a motion for a temporary restraining order to prevent the government from enforcing disclosure of Socialist Workers campaign contributors on the next filing date, Oct. 7.

The Texas suit is the second to be filed on behalf of the SWP against a state disclosure law. The first was filed in California on Sept. 10. On Oct. 3, the Southern California ACLU applied for a court order to stop the state from enforcing an Oct. 11 filing date for the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

In a related development in California, the People's Lobby has announced its intention to file a court brief in support of the SWP suit.

This new support is especially sig-

nificant because People's Lobby was, along with Common Cause, one of the major backers of California's new disclosure law, Proposition 9.

Ed Koupal, executive director of People's Lobby, has also stated his intention to support a hearing and exemption for the SWP when Proposition 9 goes into effect next Jan. 5.

There have also been new developments in the SWP's challenge to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. ACLU attorney Joel Gora appeared in U. S. District Court in Washington, D. C., on Oct. 3 to argue for the convening of a three-judge panel to consider the constitutional issues involved.

In opposing the request, the government attorney made no effort to refute the claims of harassment and surveillance of the SWP. He argued that the issues raised by the lawsuit are "insubstantial and without merit."

In answer to the judge's comment that the Democratic Party in 1972 had run into the same problems as the

SWP, Gora pointed to the "sharp distinction."

"Supporters of the Democratic Party were not listed on the attorney general's list [of so-called subversives], nor are they denied federal employment because of this association," Gora pointed out. A decision on the three-judge court is expected soon.

Common Cause, the self-styled "non-partisan citizens' lobby group," is stepping up its efforts to force the SWP to comply with the undemocratic campaign disclosure laws. Common Cause has filed a petition in court to become a defendant along with the government in the federal suit. Common Cause in California has instituted similar action in connection with the disclosure challenge there.

These measures are intended to allow Common Cause to present legal arguments against any exemption for the Socialist Workers campaign committees and conceivably to postpone decision by holding up the legal proceedings. The ACLU will oppose the petition.



# Campaign 'reform' hearing set in Wash.

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE—Support continues to build here for the Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee's request for exemption from the Washington state public disclosure law.

The committee is seeking exemption from revealing the names of its contributors in light of widespread harassment by local, state and federal agencies. This illegal harassment has resulted in economic reprisals, loss of employment, and threats of physical coercion against SWP campaign supporters and contributors in the past, and the disclosure law threatens to provide the government with new targets for such treatment in the future.

The socialist campaign committee will present its case for exemption to the Public Disclosure Commission Oct. 15.

New endorsements of the socialists' right to exemption from the disclosure law have come from the Washington State University Young Democrats and the board of trustees of the young lawyers section of the King County (Seattle) Bar Association. The trustees voted to send a letter to the Public Disclosure Commission stating that if the Socialist Workers campaign does prove that the disclosure provisions have a "chilling effect" on its ability to function, then exemption would be in order.

Editorials and articles supporting exemption for the socialist campaign have appeared in the Washington State University and University of Washington newspapers.

On Oct. 7 the Socialist Workers campaign committee took its case before the Seattle city council, which was holding hearings on the confirmation of acting chief of police Robert Hanson as permanent police chief in Seattle.

When City Councilman Randy Revelle announced that confirmation hearings would be extended to the following week, he was informed by Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, that Hanson would be unable to attend, since he had been subpoenaed by her campaign committee to testify before the Public Disclosure Commission on the illegal police harassment and surveillance of SWP members and campaign supporters.

Fraenzl outlined the evidence compiled by the SWP campaign, which included an Oct. 1, 1971, report to the House Internal Security Committee on the infiltration of the SWP by the Seattle police department from 1968 to 1971. She pointed out that "as a high-ranking officer of the Seattle police department for many years, Hanson shares responsibility for these crimes against the civil liberties of the Socialist Workers Party and other groups struggling for social change in this city."

Fraenzl urged the city council to subpoena the secret files of the Seattle police intelligence division and hold a public hearing on its illegal activities.

Socialist Workers candidates and supporters also took their fight against the disclosure law to the streets of downtown Seattle, explaining their case to shoppers. The news media covered the event, recounting the Industrial Workers of the World tradition of soapbox speeches, and the fight that the IWW waged to win this right in Seattle at the turn of the century.

## Watergate suit

# SWP demands FBI documents

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—Demanding a halt to FBI stonewalling in their suit, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) have filed a motion in federal court here to force disclosure of government documents on illegal spying.

An 81-page brief, filed Oct. 8 by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, asks that the court compel the government to release material it has thus far refused to turn over to the SWP and YSA.

The outcome of the motion could be an important turning point for the socialist suit and for similar challenges to government harassment of political dissenters.

The socialist suit charges past and present government officials with conducting a campaign of illegal attacks against members and supporters of the SWP and YSA—including burglary, wiretapping, bombing, and police infiltration.

In response to the charges, the government has been forced to admit that the FBI carried out electronic surveillance of the SWP beginning in 1945, that it placed a mail cover on the SWP national headquarters in 1973, and that it initiated an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961.

However, government officials have refused to release to the socialists hun-

dreds of tapes, documents, and reports detailing the tactics and scope of these practices. The new motion seeks to force disclosure of such materials as:

- The complete text of the memorandum launching the SWP Disruption Program in 1961. (A highly censored version has been released).

- Documents on the "Communist Party USA Counterintelligence Program" and the "COINTELPRO New Left Program."

- Tapes, notes, and memorandums of Richard Nixon's secret discussions concerning the 1970 Huston spy plan.

- The uncensored text of the Huston plan. (The House Judiciary Committee deleted much of the plan before publishing it).

- Documents concerning electronic surveillance, mail tampering, and burglary directed against the SWP and YSA.

The government claims it cannot release these materials because there is "no good cause" to do so; it would expose "confidential informers"; disclose "investigative files and techniques"; might "embarrass" parties not named in the suit; and may violate "executive privilege."

In arguing against these stalling tactics, the socialists' brief points out that similar requests for FBI documents have recently been upheld in the courts—in the cases of two Philadel-



FBI lied about aims of J. Edgar Hoover's 'SWP Disruption Program.'

phia antiwar groups, Arab-American attorney Abdeen Jabara, and NBC newsman Carl Stern.

Furthermore, the socialists' case is all the stronger now that it has been proven that the FBI lied in earlier sworn statements about its surveillance of the SWP and YSA. The brief points out that the FBI falsely claimed its SWP Disruption Program was merely to "alert the public" to the SWP's views. According to a 1969 FBI memo, however, the primary purpose of the program was "to cause disruption within the SWP."

"It can no longer be credibly denied," the brief states, "that, beginning at least in the early 1960s, official FBI policy called for the disruption of the plaintiffs' party and its elimination from the U. S. political landscape. There is not the slightest evidence that this basic policy has changed."

These attacks are clearly illegal, the brief continues, amounting to "a political sabotage operation," and therefore, "the public interest requires exposure rather than protection of the FBI's secret police work."

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing support for the socialists' suit. For more information, contact the PRDF at 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 703, New York, N. Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

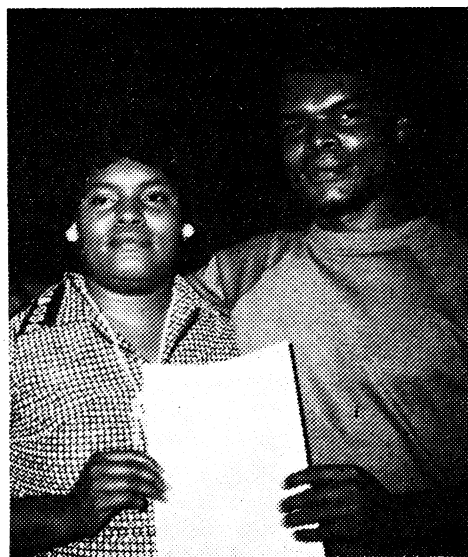


Socialists are demanding tapes, memos, and notes from Nixon's secret meetings on 1970 Huston spy plan.

# Black appeals frame-up in Missouri

By NORTON SANDLER

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—On Sept. 19, a three-judge Missouri Supreme Court panel heard arguments to reverse the frame-up conviction of J. B. Johnson, a St. Louis Black. Arguing Johnson's appeal was attorney William Kunstler, who had come to Missouri fresh from the victory at the Wounded Knee trial in Minnesota.



Mary Watkins and defendant J.B. Johnson.

Johnson, 24, was framed up by the University City police as an accomplice in a jewelry store robbery that had led to the death of a white policeman. He was convicted by an all-white suburban jury even though he was never identified as having been anywhere near the store where the robbery occurred. Johnson is currently serving a life sentence and was not allowed to attend the Supreme Court arguments.

Kunstler told the judges that the two rings the police claim they found in Johnson's shoes during one of their many post-arrest searches were planted on him. A police photograph of a ring tray found near the jewelry store moments after the robbery contained seven rings. However, when the ring tray was entered as part of the evidence at Johnson's trial only five rings were in the tray.

"There are seven rings, where did two of them go?" Kunstler asked. "They went into the shoes of the defendant."

Assistant Attorney General David Robards admitted when questioned about the rings by the judges, "It's a contradiction that cannot be explained by the record."

Robards attacked Kunstler's assertion that a police conspiracy lay behind the conviction of Johnson.

In summation Kunstler said, "You don't need a massive police conspiracy to place rings in a shoe."

"However," he added, "such conspiracies have been known to exist at even the highest circles of the government."

The courtroom was packed with spectators during the arguments. Another 40 to 50 people, many wearing "Free J. B. Johnson" buttons, filled the corridor outside the courtroom.

On Sept. 11, the Committee to Defend J. B. Johnson held a march and rally to demand a new trial for Johnson. Sponsors of the rally included Congressman William Clay (D-Mo.), the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Congress of African People, the St. Louis Committee Against Racism and Political Repression, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Speakers at the rally of 125 people included State Senator Raymond Howard; State Representative Ray Quarles; Jerome Williams, representing Clay; Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother; and Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate.

## At stake in Boston

Boston has become the national battleground for reactionary forces determined to stop and reverse advances of the Black community in education, jobs, or any other field. Opposition to busing—which means opposing school desegregation and defending special privileges for whites—has become their rallying cry.

Racists around the country will take a victory against integration in Boston as the signal for escalated anti-Black attacks in other cities. And such a victory would embolden *all* reactionary forces—to attack not only Black civil rights but also the gains and rights of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and the entire labor movement.

The confrontation over busing has been building up for a long time. Until now it has been primarily restricted to courtroom battles. Now it has come to a head in a direct confrontation in the streets.

The racists are currently on the offensive, but they can be defeated by a countermobilization of the Black community and all who support the right of Black children to attend the schools of their choice in safety.

The stakes in Boston are high—on a national scale. A national response in defense of civil rights is urgently needed.

The first step toward mobilizing support is to *get the truth out*. The capitalist media are covering up the real situation in Boston.

*The Militant* will continue to carry first-hand accounts of the struggle in Boston, explaining the real issues, and standing up for the rights of Black students and parents. We will keep a team of reporters in Boston as long as necessary to provide complete coverage of the struggle. We urge all our readers to join in a special national effort to distribute *The Militant* as widely as possible to spread the truth about Boston.

Another important step is to organize meetings to hear reports on Boston, discuss the real issues, and demonstrate solidarity with the embattled Black community. The labor movement, Black organizations, and student groups everywhere have a big stake in the outcome of the struggle in Boston and must be involved.

Join us in the campaign to get out the truth about the struggle in Boston!

## How not to WIN

Millions are unemployed. Prices are soaring. A world depression may be around the corner. The solution? Just wear a "WIN" button.

The WIN brainstorm comes from the same Madison Avenue advertising agency that put on the "Let's all be a little less piggy" drive a few years back. The idea is the same: more profits for the big pigs by telling workers to sacrifice.

President Ford's flag-waving exhortations were crude and to the point. Work harder, he said. Use less heat. "Waste" 5 percent less food. Drive 5 percent fewer miles.

Even during the anticommunist crusade in Vietnam, such demagoguery couldn't convince American workers to voluntarily sacrifice their living standards, and the effort won't be any more successful now.

Ford's speech proved again that the capitalist system and the Democratic and Republican politicians who support it offer *no answer whatsoever* to the economic crisis. There is only one way to safeguard the interests of the masses of workers and poor: massive united action by the labor movement. Some of the key demands for defending living standards today are:

- Substantial catch-up wage increases for all workers. Cost-of-living escalators in all union contracts, to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices. Escalators for all social benefits: pensions, welfare, Social Security, unemployment and veterans' payments.

- Shorten the workweek with no cut in weekly pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs. For an immediate massive program of useful public works to provide millions of jobs at union wages.

- Against any wage controls or "guidelines." No restrictions on the right to strike.

The government committees on "productivity" and "wage and price stability" are merely a front for attacks on workers. Union officials should immediately get off these boards and stop lending their authority to antilabor attacks.

What is needed today is not an army of "volunteer inflation fighters and energy savers" wearing Ford's WIN buttons—but rather the army of the labor movement fighting for such a class-struggle program, against Ford and the capitalist profiteers he represents.

### Watergate

Most: Articles that highlight point by point the socialist position on different issues. I like the editorials.

Least: Our Watergate coverage is a little boring, but then so is the whole Watergate affair to the general public, I guess. It's boring but necessary.

### The economy

What I like most are Dick Roberts's articles on the economy.

### Only once a week

Most: That it is as big and has as many pages as it does.

Least: That it only comes out once a week.

### Front-page headlines

I have criticisms of the front page. It hurts sales when the banner headline is approximately the same as the week before. I am thinking about the recent headlines on Portugal. The subtlety of the difference between the headlines often escapes potential buyers in street sales. "Portugal? Oh, I've read that one," they would say.

Also, I think we should make more of an effort to speak to the average person. All of my sales are to passersby on the street. Headlines like "Is Spain Next?" cause squints, perplexity, and blank expressions, but produce no quarter.

What I like the most about *The Militant* is that it is *my* paper!

### Impeccable reporting

Columns such as Linda Jenness's "Women in Revolt" and "The American Way of Life" are often the things I read first.

Since I have been involved in doing research, I have had much experience referring to past articles in *The Militant* for my material, and it has given me added respect for our accurate, in fact, impeccable reporting, since I also have to refer to the capitalist press along with *Militant* material.

Also, the photography is good.

### More human

The paper should have more personal-type articles, at least one a week. For instance, articles about the socialist candidates or spokespeople for our movement. Or articles about new members of the YSA or SWP. Why they joined the socialist movement, what they did before joining, etc. It would make *The Militant* more human to new readers.

### Special series

Most: The special series such as Seigle's on Watergate, Thomas's on Black nationalism, and Frankel's on the Left Opposition.

Least: The review page.

### World Outlook

The World Outlook supplement is a great addition. I think interviews with people involved in different struggles and movements should become a more regular feature.

In an effort to gather suggestions for improving *The Militant*, participants at the socialist educational conference held at Oberlin College in August were asked to fill out a questionnaire.

The questionnaire simply asked people what they like the most about *The Militant* and what they like the least.

From the hundreds that were returned to us we have selected a cross-section of suggestions, criticisms, and comments.

### Effects of capitalism

*The Militant's* best feature is its ongoing analysis of Watergate and inflation. The articles are clear, concise, and very educational.

On the negative side, I think there should be more on the social and cultural effects of capitalism. How it debases our lives on a daily basis, the cultural morass we are forced to exist in, criticisms of the arts and social relations.

### Most 'salable'

Most: The articles on the Black struggle, CLUW, Wounded Knee, and the socialist evaluation of Watergate, inflation, and unemployment make the paper the most "salable." Least: Some of the headlines have been poor—neither news-oriented, nor analytical. I have found that front headlines that contain the word "socialist" sell very well.

### Chicano movement

Most: Its ability to explain socialist ideas in practice without overuse of rhetoric.

Least: I wish we had the resources to publish the paper in Spanish. Even in English, however, the vanguard of the Chicano movement sees the paper as an important source of information.

### International reporting

The best part of *The Militant* is the international reporting. Its weakest point is that it is relatively dry. It needs more Harry Ring and Randy Furst type of reporting.

### Socialist history

Basically, *The Militant* is best for its critical Marxist analysis of everything, from coverage of international struggles to reports on local fights, which is unavailable in the bourgeois media and is distorted beyond recognition in the press of other left organizations. Harry Ring's column isn't bad either.

One area in which I think the paper could improve slightly is an expansion of articles and documents dedicated to labor and socialist history as related to current events. The analogies drawn between the Russian revolution and the Portuguese situation is a good example.

### Ink comes off

Other than the ink coming off onto your hands and clothes, there is nothing about *The Militant* I find objectionable.





## The highly paid elite don't work

### 'Stiff rhetoric'

The short articles on our campaigns around the country all sound alike. I think some of the writing could be rephrased so it doesn't sound like stiff rhetoric. The language style that some of our articles are written in could be made to have more appeal. They seem too dry.

### Layout and graphics

Most: The continuing excellence and growing skill with which we use layout and graphics to get across our message. Also, the increased size and ability to cover more areas in depth.

Least: I think we still have some lessons to learn in "popularizing" without deleting politics. We could write more readably with a greater emphasis on explanations of simple terms in some articles.

### Local reporting

Most: The tendency for at least one of the covers—either front or back—to feature an article on the struggles of oppressed nationalities.

I very much like the occasional coverage of the human side of our movement, and the columns, such as the "National Picket Line," "By Any Means Necessary," etc., are a strong feature of the paper. Least: I think *The Militant* still has a way to go in developing more and better quality local reporting. I think we can do more in letting the average working person see her or his own thoughts printed in the paper alongside our own analysis and program for solving the problems.

### Weekly inspiration

Most: The articles on inflation that identify the exact problems working people face. The conclusions about how to fight these, vis-à-vis a labor party and democratized unions, are keeping close pace with what I expect is on people's minds. The audacity with which we project socialist alternatives is a weekly inspiration to this socialist.

Least: Repetition in headlines, both on topics and style. At regular sales spots, readers pass up the paper thinking they already have it.

### For Harry Ring

I am tired of being told not to smoke.

### The review page

Most: In-depth political series or polemics with major opponents. Least: The movie and music reviews. Almost all of them "force" a political conclusion to the film or state that the reason the film is bad is because it was not political. Culture as currently projected can be educational and entertaining, and we should not be so rigid and sterile on the question of art.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Rapidly rising prices have prompted a rash of magazine articles designed to show that even if wages are lagging, at least there are some workers who are relatively better off.

One recent article, in *U. S. News & World Report*, was headlined, "Out of the Blue-Collar Ranks Emerges a Highly Paid Elite." It is an eye-catching headline, but the facts in the story show that poverty is emerging and the "highly paid elite" is a mirage.

Examples of highly paid workers are "several plumbers" in Chicago making \$23,000 each, \$17,000-a-year street cleaners in San Francisco, some elevator-maintenance men working for the city of Detroit at \$18,000 annually, a bus driver in Atlanta who earned \$24,301 last year, and a Chicago-area auto mechanic whose boss says he will earn \$22,965 this year.

All told these "elite" number no more than a couple hundred. The Atlanta bus driver made his \$24,000 last year by working double shifts and collecting overtime pay. (What happened to him after that is not reported.)

But even if every worker in this country received \$17,000 a year before taxes, at today's high prices none would be living in luxury.

The U. S. Department of Labor estimates that \$12,000 a year is needed to keep a working-class family of four in modest circumstances. That means no frills, only essentials. The only time workers ever get close to "elite" standards is when they slip into the circle of the trade-union bureaucracy or otherwise manage to claw their way out of the ranks of the working class. Many try but few succeed.

The highest paid of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats rake in anywhere from \$40,000 to \$100,000 a year. Now, you can live comfortably on that. George Meany collects \$75,000. This is far above workers' wages, more than a family of four could earn if every member worked overtime every day. But even this does not measure up to the real elite.

Each and every one of the rich and superrich has access every year to more than a million dollars.

More than a thousand of these rich individuals every year show a tax-free income exceeding a million dollars. This does not include overtime, because they do not work. They are members of the ruling class, not the working class.

A large number of corporate executives, officials of such companies as International Telephone and Telegraph, Ford, and General Motors, get more than half a million in salaries and bonuses every year. ITT president Harold Geneen, one of Nixon's big backers, has been knocking down more than \$800,000 annually for the past several years. These are the elite, not a street sweeper who is lucky to have a job that pays \$17,000.

The facts about wages are totally different. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) surveyed New York-area wages in the machinery industry in February 1973 and recently released its findings. "The average hourly earnings . . . ranged from \$5.11 an hour for the highly skilled tool and die makers . . . to \$2.73 an hour for punch-press operators performing less skilled power press operations," says the BLS report.

A BLS survey this year showed that in the New York area the highest-paid blue-collar workers are auto-maintenance mechanics. They earn an average \$6.14 an hour, \$12,771 for a full year's work before tax.

The lowest-paid blue-collar workers are women packers who get \$3.04 an hour, or \$121.60 a week, before tax deductions. Unlike the millionaires, these women are taxed heavily. Their \$5,000 annual spendable income keeps them in poverty.

These are the wages of the millions of full-time workers. Millions of others get by on part-time work if they are lucky enough to have jobs. The working class in this country is poor, and some are more poor than others.

There is no "highly paid elite" emerging here, only more demands for more money to keep up with rising food prices.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## Black-on-Black crime

"Permissiveness," "crumbling respect for the church and family," "declining moral standards," "bad blood"—all of these have been suggested as explanations for the rise in what has come to be known as Black-on-Black crime.

The statistics show that rape, robbery, mugging, burglary, murder, and drug dealing are on the rise in Black communities across the country. In New York a man who is Black is eight times more likely to be murdered than a white man, and 80 percent of the time the killer is Black also.

What is it that prompts a Black youngster to filch a bicycle or snatch a Black woman's purse? Why will one Black waylay another just for a few bucks?

Attorney General William Saxbe says crime is due to permissiveness, and that parents fail to teach or properly discipline their children. Saxbe has been stumping the country, trying to whip up support for his solution to crime: lock up the "criminal element" and throw away the key. "When the bleeding hearts say they can be rehabilitated as honest industrious citizens," Saxbe says, "all I can say is they must have a hole in their head."

But a "crackdown on criminals" such as Saxbe is proposing would do nothing to end crime. It would do nothing to alleviate the poverty and desperation that breed crime in the ghettos.

Saxbe has not one word to say about bringing to justice the real criminals—those responsible for upholding and defending racism and exploitation. Saxbe has nothing to say about the problems of unemployment, battered and overcrowded housing, no decent health care, inadequate recreational and cultural facilities, meaningless education, and police brutality—in short, the social conditions bred by capitalism.

Cries in the abstract for "cleaning up" crime-ridden communities and "attacking crime" only bolster the repressive arsenal of the racist government.

Special police decoy and stakeout units have been

set up, and helicopters, computers, and modern technology have all been put to work so that police brutality and terror against Blacks could be stepped up. Some recent results: 10-year-old Clifford Glover gunned down in Jamaica, Queens; 14-year-old Claude Reese cut down in Brownsville; and 23 Blacks killed by Atlanta cops in less than two years.

That's the rulers' version of how to go about "attacking crime."

Crime cannot be attacked without attacking the conditions that breed it. A good illustration is the year-old New York drug law.

This law, which was passed with considerable fanfare, is the stiffest drug law in the land. It carries a mandatory life sentence for persons convicted of certain types of drug felonies, mainly sales.

Governor Malcolm Wilson says it was designed to establish penalties "so stern and so inexorable as to drive pushers for profit out of business." The *New York Times*, however, reported that the law has "not measurably slowed the over-all flow of drugs or driven major narcotics dealers out of business." Instead, it has "increasingly meant long sentences for addicts and small-scale pushers at the bottom of the drug ladder."

As H. Carl McCall, a columnist for the Black-owned *Amsterdam News*, put it:

"The drug law isn't working, and will not work, because it is based upon the foolish premise of *accepting* a condition rather than *changing* it. The best way to combat drug abuse is to fight and *change* the conditions which lead to narcotics use in the first place."

Drug usage, of course, is a reflection of the despair arising from depressed social conditions under capitalism. And the fight to end it, along with ending Black-on-Black crime, will require struggles to change those conditions—to provide jobs, decent housing, medical care, and education for all—and ultimately, a struggle to abolish capitalism.



**He said it, not us**—Nelson Rockefeller said we can beat inflation if people produce more (for the same pay, presumably) and renew their faith in the free enterprise system. "You might think I'm a nut," he said, "but I'm very optimistic."

**Legislators' burden**—Deferring, somewhat ungraciously, to public clamor, the California legislators reconsidered generous pension plans they had voted themselves. "Is there not some special burden placed on people in public office entitling them to special benefits?" cried John Miller, a liberal Berkeley Democrat. He noted that public servants are targets of kidnappings and assassinations and that it is difficult for them to sue critics for libel.

**Identity problem**—For some reason we felt a little bewildered when we read that Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) had suggested that Rockefeller invest all his money in U.S. savings bonds. We had sort of assumed Rocky was the guy who issued them.

**Suggestion dep't**—The chancellor of the New York schools is conferring with social studies teachers on how to deal with Watergate. He's concerned that students may have an "incomplete" knowledge of the affair and that

this could make them cynical about Our Way. To help complete their education, maybe he could get Nixon to lend him the tapes.

**Who's Hooey?**—Advised he had been included in the new edition of *Who's Who*, rock singer Alice Cooper responded: "I think it's great because *Who's Who* is an American institution and I believe in anything that is an American institution such as Hugh Hefner, Walt Disney, the Boy Scouts, and Budweiser."

**Muzak's new lyrics writer**—"Muzak helps human communities because it is a nonverbal symbolism of every-

day living in the global village. And Muzak promotes the sharing of meaning because it massifies symbolism in which not a few, but all, can participate."—Dr. James Keenan, scientific adviser to the Muzak company.

**Forecast**—A Los Angeles grocery operator sold out to a supermarket chain. He said the inflation made competition impossible and that the rise in shoplifting was demoralizing because most of it was by old people. With the current rate of inflation, he said, food would soon be more valuable than money, and the supermarkets would become armed fortresses.

## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



## Household employees organize

There are somewhere between 1.5 million and three million household employees in this country. They work in other people's homes scrubbing floors, dusting, and washing dishes, windows, and clothes. Some cook and serve meals. Others take care of children or elderly people.

Until May of this year these workers were not even protected by federal minimum-wage legislation. Now they are entitled to a whopping \$1.90 an hour, which will rise to \$2.30 an hour by 1977. Of course, enforcing even this starvation wage is difficult.

Janet Dewart, communications officer of the National Committee on Household Employment (NCHHE), explained to me that the burden of enforcing the law falls on the household worker.

In many cases the employers are reluctantly paying the minimum, she added, but they are reducing wages by cutting back on the hours of work.

The cold statistics are that 81 percent of household employees make less than \$2,000 a year, according to NCHHE.

These workers are also excluded from most state

and federal protective labor laws, and rarely receive standard benefits such as sick leave, paid vacations and holidays, or unemployment compensation.

Who are these workers, commonly referred to as "domestics"? They are almost all women and two-thirds of them are Black. They are among the most exploited of all American workers. An average household worker is 46 years old. The majority live and work in the Southeastern states.

Dewart pointed out that the large number of household workers in the South is due to both tradition and the poverty of many Black families. "The South has always had cheap labor available. Some of the poorer Black families had no other job opportunities."

Close to a quarter of a million household workers are heads of households, responsible for the support of other adults or children or both.

The National Committee on Household Employment has 15,000 members and has established 40 chapters in 25 states during the past few years. The group is holding its third national convention

this week, Oct. 11-13, in New Orleans.

The convention will focus on efforts to institute a code of standards, with improved wages, status, and job protection for household workers. The code calls for the standardization of benefits such as Social Security, sick leave, and overtime payment. It also spells out some of the necessary conditions for employees such as clearly defined duties, proper forms of address, and provisions for maximum safety and health.

There will be workshops on organizing workers in the South, enforcement of minimum wage and Social Security legislation, health issues affecting household workers, and others.

"More and more there is a recognition of household workers as a distinct and important work force," says Dewart. She notes that the Coalition of Labor Union Women has recognized the need to organize household employees.

At last, she says, people are "beginning to think that there's some credibility, some force, in the household workers."

## The American Way of Life

## Crazy Earl's traveling tent show

Since Watergate it has become clear to more and more Americans that the people who run the government are hucksters. But a recent proposal of Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz takes the cake in this regard.

Butz came up with the idea of sending a tent show around the country trying to convince people that food prices are not so bad. The show, consisting of song, prayer, and music, was to feature scenes from the pioneer days. This was to show how our hardy ancestors learned to cope with far worse hardships than we have in our supposedly soft lives today.

Sound crazy? It is. But no crazier than the capitalists' system of creating permanent food shortages to guarantee high prices and profits.

One theme Butz wanted to weave into the prayers and song was that food is a better bargain in this country than anyplace else in the world. In other words, instead of complaining about rising food costs, we ought to be thankful we don't live in one of the many countries where prices are even worse and thousands are starving.

Butz finally decided the show should not go on, but only after he was accused even by congress-people of having "lost touch with reality" and of

"peddling verbal massage oil to the public."

Butz's public relations man explained that the prayer-show idea was an attempt to cope with the same problem that plagues the whole government—how to "strengthen the department's credibility."

The only antidote for a credibility gap, however, is some truth—not more of the lies and doubletalk that we have been getting from medicine men like Butz. Butz's lies flow from his attempts to cover up for the irrationality and injustice of the capitalist system of food production for profit.

Every time he makes a pronouncement that food prices are bound to level off soon, up they go again, along with the profits of the food monopolies.

While the big farmers shoot calves, or smother chicks in order to keep supply down and prices up, one-third of the world's people face malnutrition or starvation.

Last month it was revealed that the California Milk Producers Association had dumped 420,000 gallons of fresh skimmed milk into the sewers of Los Angeles because production had been "too high."

This is the kind of irrationality that Butz and his department apologize for. But most people are not fool enough to believe that Americans should be content because food is cheaper here than in most other countries. The entire world is interdependent. And the U.S. capitalists' limitation of food production to keep prices high hurts not only the starving masses in other countries who need U.S. aid, but also hurts American working people, who must pay more for less food. The two problems are really the same problem.

A planned socialist economy could bring forth from this rich country quantities of food and other goods that can scarcely be imagined. Together with the other workers states, we could feed the world.

Butz's prayer-show idea is merely one more reflection of the bankruptcy of the ruling class for whom he speaks—a class that views with utter contempt the working people of this country and the entire world.

But it will take more than songs and prayers to protect Butz and his crew of hucksters from the wrath of the victims of capitalism's irrationality.

—CAROLINE LUND





# U.S. and Israel prepare new Mideast war

By DAVE FRANKEL

One year after the outbreak of the fourth Arab-Israeli war, in October 1973, it is clearer than ever that it is only a matter of time until the fifth war erupts.

"Qualified Israeli sources," wrote Drew Middleton in the Sept. 14 *New York Times*, "have predicted a new Arab war or, at the very least, a war of attrition between Syria and Israel late this year or early in 1975. They warn that in a crisis the Israeli Air Force might be forced to launch a pre-emptive strike against Syrian missile forces."

The threat of an Israeli attack was amplified Oct. 4 by Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon. "War is behind us and fear of another war is in front of us," Allon said. He ruled out any possibility of a low-level war of attrition, insisting that Israel would use all its military might in any new fighting.

*Newsweek* magazine reports that "most Arab military analysts [believe] that Israel's armed forces have returned to the doctrine of a pre-emptive first strike that proved so successful in the 1967 Six Day War."

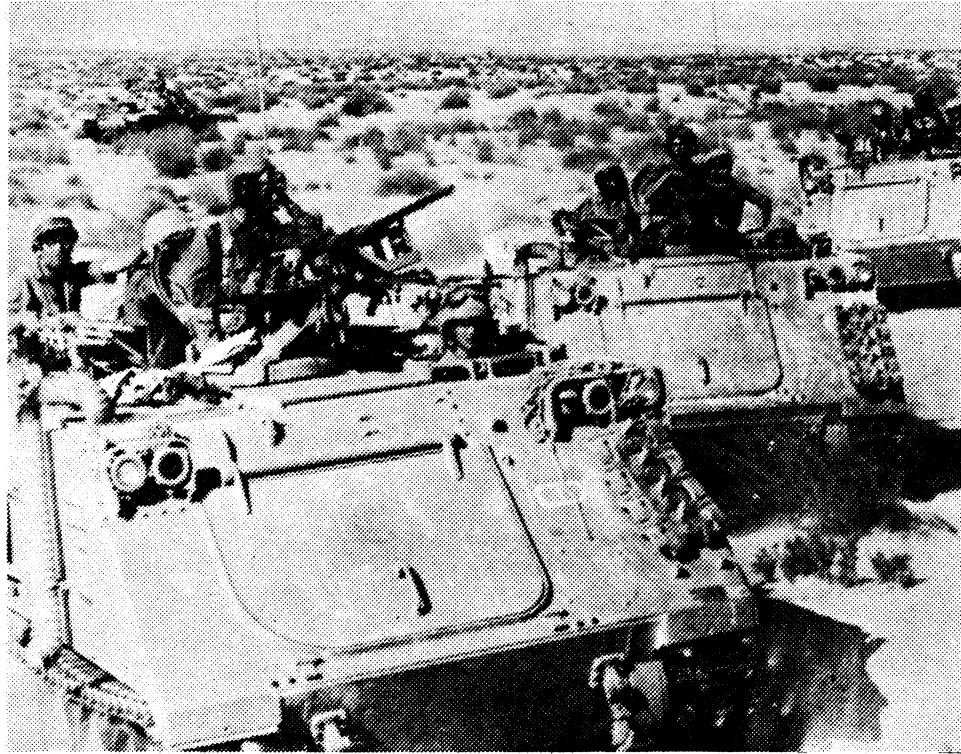
The threats coming out of Jerusalem with increasing frequency are not the only indicators pointing to renewed warfare, however. The past two months have been punctuated by one Israeli provocation after another.

The Israeli army has conducted full-scale mobilizations and massive military maneuvers menacingly close to the cease-fire lines, both in the Sinai and on the northern front. Air attacks, shelling, and ground raids against Lebanese villages have occurred almost daily in this period.

And while charging the Syrians with breaches of the cease-fire agreement, the Israelis have widened the main road to El Quneitra to four lanes, enabling them to move large numbers of tanks and other vehicles in the event of an offensive.

In addition to all this, the Zionist propaganda machine has been cranking out reports of a massive infusion of Soviet arms into Syria, in order to cover up the fact that the Israeli arms procurement program is at least double that of Syria and Egypt combined.

Israel was promised \$2.2-billion in military aid by the Nixon administration after the October war. As a result of this aid, reports Leslie Gelb in the Oct. 3 *New York Times*, "Israel is in



Israeli troops on maneuvers in Sinai. War games were part of continuing policy of provocations.

a stronger military position now in relation to Egypt and Syria than before the outbreak of the war a year ago, according to American experts."

Moreover, Gelb reports that Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin "was known to have left Washington satisfied that his requests were, in essence, going to be met" after his recent visit there. Rabin's requests included the immediate delivery of another \$1-billion in military hardware, and an additional \$1.5-billion in credit sales and grants for each of the next three years.

"The total Israeli defense effort during this period would be about \$4-billion a year," says Gelb.

*This amounts to \$16-billion in a four-year period—more than \$4,000 in military equipment for every man, woman, and child in Israel.*

In contrast to Washington's lavish rearmament of its Israeli client state, Soviet military aid to Egypt stopped after last April, except for two shiploads of spare parts. The Syrian regime, which has been given considerably more Soviet aid than Cairo in this period, received \$800-million worth of Soviet arms since last October, according to U. S. intelligence estimates leaked to the press.

While Washington pumps billions in tanks, planes, and artillery into Israel, while U. S. Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger and President Gerald Ford openly send up trial balloons about occupying sections of the Arab world, and while the Israeli regime threatens war on its own account, the Kremlin continues to assure the world that all is well.

Speaking at the United Nations the day after both Kissinger and Ford virtually threatened U. S. military action against the Arab states, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko assured the Israeli regime that his government's policy was not "one-sided and only serving the interests of the Arab states." Gromyko held out the prospect of Soviet recognition of the Israeli colonial settler-state, and said:

"Not long ago there was bitter fighting in Indochina, in the Middle East and in South Asia. . . . Now several international conflicts have been channeled to a certain extent toward a political settlement."

"Prospects for a safer peaceful future of Europe have been opened up," Gromyko claimed.

The same note was struck the next day in a statement by Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev lauding Gerald Ford and detente. "We feel that at present there are quite good prerequisites for continuing the new concrete acts of cooperation in various fields, in the interests of the peo-

ples of both countries and universal peace," he said.

Unfortunately, peace in the Middle East and in the rest of the world will not be brought any closer by such empty rhetoric. The prospect in the Mideast is for war, war that may well escalate into a nuclear confrontation, as happened during the last conflict there.

Far from deterring Washington's designs in the Middle East, detente has enabled it to gain Soviet acquiescence as the imperialists tighten their grip on the region and threaten ever bolder and more dangerous adventures.

Immediately after the Middle East war of October 1973 *The Militant* warned, "Despite glowing claims by Nixon about 'the best chance for peace in 25 years,' the truth is that nothing has been settled by the latest round of fighting, and the next Middle East war is being openly prepared."

At that time *The Militant* was alone in this assessment, which was stressed repeatedly in headlines such as "U. S.—Soviet deal will not bring peace," and "Kissinger's Middle East diplomacy sets the stage for new Israeli aggression."

In contrast, the Oct. 23, 1973, *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist Party, ran a story headlined "Cease-fire terms in Mideast called victory for peace."

Just this June the *Daily World* ran an editorial proclaiming, "A new era has dawned in the Middle East. Imperialist domination has been swept away forever, although it persists in its efforts to hold on and even strengthen its slipping grip."

These attempts to pretty up the results of detente and delude people about the achievements of Soviet diplomacy—diplomacy consisting of deals with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution—were answered by an editorial in the June 28 *Militant*, which said:

"The only road to peace in the Middle East is the abolition of the racist Israeli settler-state and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine; the expulsion of imperialism from the entire region; the nationalization of its industries and resources under the control of the workers and peasants; and the establishment of a planned economy run on the basis of human needs rather than private profits."

## S. Vietnamese students in U.S. fight deportation

By MORRIS STARKSKY

LOS ANGELES—A demonstration and rally of 200 people was held at the federal building here Sept. 19 to protest the government's plan to deport seven Vietnamese students.

Inside, a courtroom filled with sympathetic spectators heard one of the students testify that she would be jailed without a trial and probably tortured or killed if she is sent back to South Vietnam.

The demonstration was organized by a coalition of groups, including the Union of Vietnamese Students, Indochina Peace Campaign, Bar Sinister, and Free Venice. Speakers at the rally included Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; a representative of Congressman Thomas Rees (D-Calif.); and Leonard Weinglass, one of the students' attorneys.

The students facing deportation have all lived in the United States for five years while attending various universities. They were active in the anti-

war movement and voiced their opposition to the Thieu regime.

Last February the Saigon government ordered the students to return to South Vietnam. They applied for political asylum in the U. S. but the application was denied.

Under the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, persons ordered deported have a right to a hearing to establish that they will be persecuted for their political views if they are returned to their country. The district director of the Immigration department, who will rule on any appeal from the hearing, has already publicly stated that his decision on appeal will be made solely on the basis of what he is told about the situation in South Vietnam by the State Department.

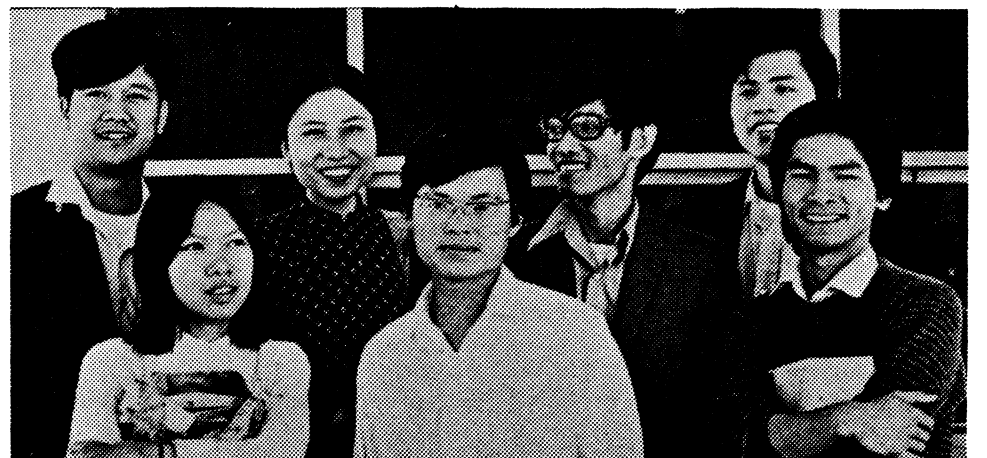
Evidence contradicting the State Department's view of "democracy" in South Vietnam was introduced at the two sessions of the hearing already held. In addition to the testimony of the students, attorneys plan to call a number of witnesses, including some

from South Vietnam, to establish that thousands of intellectuals, students, religious leaders, and others have been jailed, tortured, and killed for their opposition to the Thieu regime.

"The evidence is going well," Weinglass said, "but this government never acts on evidence in Southeast Asia or anywhere else when the 'national

interest' conflicts with the truth of the situation."

Letters of solidarity may be sent to Nguyen Hoang, Box 3493, Fullerton, Calif. 92634. Letters of protest may be sent to Attorney General William Saxbe, or Joseph Sureck, District Director, INS, 300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90010.



Students facing deportation are (left to right): Bui Van Dao, 25; Doan Thi Nam Hau, 25; Cao Thi My Loc, 25; Nguyen Huu An, 26; Nguyen Hoang, 31; Vu Ngoc Con, 26; Nguyen Dang Yen Truc, 24.

# Which road to socialist revolution:

Fourth of a series

By TONY THOMAS

In previous articles we have taken up some of the key questions posed to Afro-American militants becoming interested in Marxism. Among these questions are: Which of the tendencies claiming to be Marxist and Leninist really represents Marxism? And what is the origin of the differences between the world Trotskyist movement, represented in the United States by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and the pro-Moscow Communist parties and the Maoist groupings?

The best way to understand this is to look at how these tendencies developed historically.

By the time of the development of imperialism, crowned by the opening of World War I, Lenin, the leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party and other revolutionary Marxists believed that capitalism had ended its progressive phase and that the socialist revolution was on the order of the day.

In 1916 Lenin wrote: "Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism. In the foremost countries capital has outgrown the bounds of national states, has replaced competition by monopoly and has created all the objective conditions for the achievement of socialism. In Western Europe and in the United States, therefore, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalist governments and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day."

Lenin held that capitalism could play no further positive role. "Today, it would be ridiculous even to imagine a progressive bourgeoisie, a progressive bourgeois movement," he wrote.

Lenin saw the question of working-class political independence from the capitalist class, its government and its political parties, as a prerequisite for furthering the class struggle.

For example, he held that support for the Democratic and Republican parties in this country was a diversion. In 1912 he wrote, "Their fight has not had any serious importance for the mass of the people. The people have been deceived and diverted from their vital interests by means of spectacular and meaningless duels between the two bourgeois parties."

Lenin's position was opposed by the majority of the social-democratic parties of his time. These parties supported their own capitalist governments during World War I, entering into coalition governments in Britain, Russia, France, Belgium, and other countries.

Lenin held that this betrayal flowed from the development of a privileged layer in the European working class and the socialist movement. This layer had been corrupted by parliamentary posts, journalistic and intellectual positions, and by the high wages given a layer of the workers in imperialist countries from the exploitation of the colonial world.

## Lenin's view confirmed

Lenin's viewpoint was confirmed not only by the carnage of World War I, but also by the success of the 1917 Russian revolution.



Burned headquarters of Indonesian Maoist CP, 1965. CP support to Sukarno paved way for bloodbath.

In that struggle, the Bolshevik Party refused to join or support the capitalist provisional government led by Kerensky. This government was a coalition of reformist workers parties and liberal capitalist parties.

The Mensheviks, the Russian variant of the reformist socialists, supported this government as representing progressive and "democratic" elements of the capitalists struggling against Russia's feudal aristocracy. The Mensheviks held that only after a prolonged period of capitalist development would a socialist revolution be possible. Until then they insisted on supporting the capitalists.

This was the so-called two-stage theory of revolution. Under this schema, a revolution led by the capitalist class is needed to solve the tasks of the bourgeois revolution (land reform, establishment of political democracy, national independence and unification, development of advanced capitalism) before a socialist revolution can take place.

Lenin rejected this view. He held that in the

ment after Lenin's death.

After World War I, the revolutions in Germany and other advanced countries—which the Bolsheviks held essential for the development of socialism in the Soviet Union—failed because of the lack of strong revolutionary parties. Russia's already backward economy was ravaged by years of civil war and imperialist economic blockade.

These factors weakened the Soviet working class and placed enormous pressures on the Soviet Communist Party and its leadership.

The politically conscious vanguard of the working class was seriously weakened by these events. Thousands were killed during the civil war and the revolution. Others left the active ranks of the working class because of economic slowdowns or because they were drafted into the military and governmental apparatus. Famine and economic disruption led some workers to return to the countryside.

There was a collapse of revolutionary optimism



Barricade in Spanish Civil War. Stalinist policy was for suppressing workers' and peasants' struggles in deference to 'progressive' capitalist sectors.

epoch of imperialism the bourgeoisie was no longer capable of carrying out these bourgeois tasks and deserved no support or confidence from the workers. He argued that the workers could lead such a revolution, backed up by the poor peasants and other sections of the middle class—a revolution that would combine the bourgeois and socialist revolutions.

Lenin wrote: "Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, the workers must support the bourgeoisie—say the worthless politicians from the camp of the liquidators [the Mensheviks]. Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, say we who are Marxist. The workers must open the eyes of the people to the fraud of the bourgeois politicians, teach them not to place trust in promises and rely on their own forces, on their own organization, on their own unity, and on their own weapons alone."

Thus, without supporting any intermediate stage of "democratic" capitalism, the Bolsheviks organized masses of workers independently and seized power. This led to the establishment of the Soviet Union as the first workers state.

The division between the social democrats (such as the Mensheviks), who dominated the Second International, and the revolutionary Marxists, led by Lenin and Trotsky, resulted in the formation of the Third (Communist) International in 1919.

## World revolution

One of the key principles of the Bolshevik Party and the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky was that the interest of the Soviet Union lay with the advance of the world socialist revolution.

They believed that the Russian revolution could not survive in a capitalist world on the basis of its backward economic development. Lenin wrote that "the complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active cooperation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia."

Just as the Second International degenerated when the social-democratic parties turned to defense of the privileges of a labor aristocracy, so the Comintern degenerated from a similar develop-

among the workers and sections of the government and the Communist Party apparatus. The scarcity of goods prompted many in the bureaucracy to advance their own individual interests as opposed to those of the working class as a whole and to turn their backs on the world revolution.

## Privileged caste

The result was the development of a privileged social caste in both the Communist Party and the government. In many ways this caste can be compared to the bureaucratic layer that dominates the trade unions in this country.

Led by Joseph Stalin, this bureaucracy tried to maintain its own privileges by clamping down on democracy within both the party and the government.

Stalin put forward the new theory that socialism could be built in one country, the Soviet Union. This led to an anti-internationalist policy of subordinating the class struggle to the narrow national-minded interests of the Moscow bureaucracy.

Stalin revived the Menshevik two-stage revolution theory. He amended it to include the concept of "progressive" and "reactionary" wings of the capitalist class on an international basis. Support could be given to "progressive" capitalists, to pressure them to make diplomatic, economic, or military concessions for Moscow.

This theory was first invoked by the Third International in the 1925-27 Chinese revolution and later generalized on an international scale.

Stalin ordered the Communist Party of China to submerge itself in the Kuomintang, the nationalist capitalist party led by Chiang Kai-shek. To carry out their support to Chiang as a "progressive" capitalist leader, the Chinese Communists were forced to suppress peasant and worker uprisings. In 1927, Chiang replied by massacring thousands of workers and peasants, many of them Communists.

In the mid-1930s, Stalin extended the theory of supporting capitalists to the advanced countries with the strategy of "popular frontism." Under this strategy the workers parties were to attempt to build coalition governments with "progressive,"



# lessons from struggles of the past

"democratic," "antimonopoly," or "antifascist" sectors of the capitalist class. This was based on Stalin's attempt to win the Western imperialist powers as military allies against Nazi Germany.

## Fascist bid

When Franco's fascist bid emerged in Spain during the 1930s, the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities demanded that revolutionary measures be taken against capitalism, the landlords, and national oppression.

Stalin and his followers in Spain, on the other hand, proposed that the antifascist struggle be subordinated to support for a capitalist popular-front regime.

This government curbed workers' struggles, suppressed peasant demands for land, and opposed self-determination for Spanish Morocco.

This policy undermined the morale of workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples and prepared the defeat of the anti-Franco forces.

During World War II, Stalin urged the Communist parties in the "Allied" countries to give full support to their governments. In the U.S. the Communist Party urged a no-strike pledge for the labor movement and attacked those who tried to advance the Black liberation struggle during the war. In the colonies of Britain, France, and other countries allied to the Soviet Union, the Stalinists opposed independence movements as an obstacle to victory over Germany and Japan.

In Chile between 1970 and 1973 this same popular-front policy led the workers to a severe defeat. There, the Stalinists supported Allende's coalition government, which tried to contain the workers upsurge within the bounds of capitalism.

The CP told the Chilean masses that they should trust the armed forces not to intervene against their struggles. Just as in Spain in the 1930s, the Stalinists blocked initiatives by the Chilean masses to develop workers militias, to seize the factories and the land—to take steps that could lead to a socialist transformation of Chile.

These policies of Allende prevented the masses from stopping or preventing the bloody coup carried out by the military in September 1973.

## Maoism

In the early 1960s, the international Stalinist movement divided into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking wings. This divergence grew out of the rivalries between the national-minded bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China. A key factor was the Soviet Union's willingness to subordinate assistance and support to the Chinese workers state to hopes of accommodation between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

However, both the Soviet and the Chinese Stalinists represent privileged bureaucratic castes that have usurped the political rights of the masses. For this reason there is no fundamental difference between the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking wings in regard to presenting a class-struggle program for world revolution.

The Maoist regime in China has created some illusions that it is "more revolutionary" than the pro-Moscow Stalinists. This illusion has been fed by the fact that Mao used ultraleft rhetoric in his struggle against the pro-Moscow Stalinists and in his battles with his opponents within the bureaucratic caste that rules China.

But the Maoist regime carries out the same type of class-collaborationist line as the Moscow regime.

The Maoists have traditionally claimed to support "anti-imperialist" regimes in colonial and semi-colonial countries. This has been used as a cover for curbing the class struggle in these countries to win the capitalist forces there to short-term diplomatic and economic deals with the Maoist regime.

## Support to Sukarno

In Indonesia the Maoists gave full support to Sukarno, the country's capitalist leader until 1965. With Mao's praise, the Indonesian CP joined the coalition government that included the capitalists, religious conservatives, and military. This was an application of the two-stage revolution theory. The Indonesian Stalinists called for "no confrontations" with the different sectors of this "people's front."

They backed Sukarno to the bitter end in 1965. The results were that the military, capitalist, and conservative components of the government



Lenin and Trotsky stood firmly on principle of no political support to any capitalist politicians or governments

launched a coup that led to the murder of 500,000 people, mostly Communist Party members. This defeat was a direct product of Peking's Stalinist policies.

In 1971, the people of East Bengal, now Bangladesh, rose up in a struggle for national independence against the oppressive rule of the West Pakistanis.

Because Peking had a military alliance with West Pakistan, the Maoist regime opposed the struggle against national oppression. Instead, the Maoists gave military, economic, and political aid to the Pakistani dictatorship.

The same year, the Maoist regime gave financial aid and offered military support to the capitalist Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon. This was right after a rebellion by thousands of revolutionary-minded youth who demanded implementation of the socialist measures that had been promised by the regime.

The counterrevolutionary character of Maoism's international strategy has become even clearer with the development of the Washington-Peking "détente." Nixon's visit to Peking in 1972, while a hail of bombs was being dropped on Indochina, signaled a new scale of betrayal.

The détente with Washington has been followed by Maoist support—both military and political—to openly pro-imperialist regimes such as the shah's blood-stained dictatorship in Iran, the Haile Salassie regime in Ethiopia, and Mobutu's regime in Zaire.

## Revolutionary socialism

The Socialist Workers Party, and the Trotskyist current internationally, has its roots in the struggle to defend the principles of Marxism and Leninism against the bureaucratic grouping led by Stalin.

Leon Trotsky was second only to Lenin in importance as a leader of the Bolshevik revolution and the Soviet Union. He led the 1917 insurrection, the foreign affairs of the new government, and later the civil war against the Russian counterrevolution and imperialist intervention.

Before his death Lenin proposed a bloc with Trotsky for a struggle against Stalin's bureaucratic trend in the Communist Party.

Lenin was not able to bring the full force of his authority to bear because he was extremely ill at the time. Shortly afterwards, when he had broken all relations with Stalin, Lenin was felled by a stroke, which made further political activity impossible and led to his death in January 1924.

Trotsky continued the struggle against Stalin's rejection of Leninism. Key issues in the fight against Stalinism included defense of the Chinese revolution against Stalin's two-stage theory, defense of Leninist internationalism against Stalin's "socialism in one country," and the fight for workers democracy in the Soviet Union and the Communist parties.

Stalin was only able to win the leadership of the Communist International and the Soviet CP by resorting to the most brutal repressive measures against the Trotskyists and his other opponents. He had to imprison, kill, exile, and otherwise persecute the bulk of the leaders of the 1917 revolution and tens of thousands of other Communist militants.

In 1928 the Left Opposition—the Leninists—

were expelled from the Comintern. In 1938 the Fourth International was formed by Leon Trotsky and other revolutionary Marxists to continue Lenin's struggle for an international revolutionary party.

Thus, the Trotskyists represent the continuation of Marxism and of Lenin's class-struggle politics. When Stalin counseled an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1920s and 1930s, Trotskyists proposed that the Chinese Communist Party break from the Kuomintang and solve the problems of the bourgeois revolution as Lenin had solved the same problems in Russia—through socialist revolution.

When the Stalinists supported the popular fronts in country after country, Trotskyists fought on the side of the workers who were pushing ahead in the struggle for their class interests.

Against the popular front, Trotsky proposed a return to Lenin's strategy of a united front of workers organizations to fight reaction and fascism, and the victory of the socialist revolution as the only way to stop exploitation and oppression.

When Mao called for support to "progressive" capitalist politicians like Sukarno, the Trotskyist movement pointed out that such a strategy sabotaged the struggle of the Indonesian workers and peasants and prepared the way for capitalist reaction.

When Mao offered support to the Pakistani butchers in Bangladesh, the Trotskyists emphasized that only an independent working-class policy against the Pakistani capitalists, and support of the national liberation struggle of the Bengali people would advance the struggle in Bangladesh and bring real aid to the Chinese revolution.

While both Moscow and Peking are making their "détente" deals with the U.S. at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution, the Arab revolution, and other struggles, the Trotskyists point out that the only way to real peace and to defend the Chinese and Russian workers states is through deepening the international class struggle against the imperialists.

The question of political independence of the working class is the essential dividing line between the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow Stalinists on the one hand, and the revolutionary socialists on the other. The Stalinist policies of two-stage revolution and popular frontism have led to defeat after defeat for the world revolution.

It is thus of central importance to build a mass revolutionary socialist party based on a class-struggle strategy for socialist revolution. In our next, concluding, article we will outline how such a strategy can be applied to the task of making the American revolution.

For further reading:

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**'We are already at war'**

# Pressure on South African regime mounts

By MARCEL BLACK

Faced with the rising tide of the African liberation movement and growing international isolation, the apartheid regime in South Africa has begun to anticipate its day of reckoning.

"We are already at war," the South African chief of staff recently warned his white compatriots.

Military spending by the white-minority government has increased by 40 percent this year, to \$1-billion, and a bill has been introduced to make any criticism of military service punishable by up to 10 years in jail.

The isolation of the racist regime was dramatically shown Sept. 30 when the United Nations General Assembly voted to ask the Security Council to "review the relationship" between the UN and South Africa—that is, to discuss kicking that government out of the UN.

This was the first such action ever taken by the General Assembly. In the past few years the assembly has traditionally voted to reject the credentials of the South African delegation and then let the matter drop there.



South African troops in antiguerrilla training. Military budget of white supremacist regime has gone up 40 percent since last year.

The vote for the Security Council review was 125 to 1—South Africa—with nine abstentions, including the United States, Britain, France, Iran, and Israel. Although the vote represented another diplomatic defeat for South Africa, the U.S. veto in the Security Council protects it from being expelled from the UN.

"While many countries seem to assume that the United States won't allow South Africa to be expelled," writes Paul Hofmann in the Oct. 7 *New York Times*, "various motivations are suggested. The sizable American investments and business interests in South Africa—second only to Britain's—are generally cited.

"According to another theory, Washington is impressed by the military potential of South Africa and its strategic location on shipping routes between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans."

Whatever action is taken in the UN, however, will have only a very limited effect on the struggle against South Africa's apartheid system. The UN itself is an imperialist-dominated body. It took no action to stop U.S. aggression in Indochina, while it took formal responsibility for a similar counter-revolutionary war in Korea and also sent troops to put down the revolutionary upsurge in the Congo in the 1960s.

South Africa's military preparations have been spurred by developments closer to home. Since the Sept. 6 accords between Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) and the Portuguese, the South African regime has come under increasing pressure.

The agreement provided for the establishment of a joint Frelimo-Portuguese administration of Mozambique until June 1975, when the Portuguese colony is scheduled to be given independence under Frelimo. Frelimo had fought a 10-year guerrilla struggle against the Portuguese and has supported groups proposing a similar strategy to establish Black majority rule in South Africa.

Although Frelimo has stated that it will not intervene in the internal affairs of South Africa by supporting guerrilla groups in that neighboring country, South Africa's regime does



Black striker is arrested in Durban. Although strikes by Black workers are illegal, tens of thousands have defied apartheid regime over last two years.

not take this for good coin. South African Prime Minister John Vorster claimed that his regime would be conciliatory to a Frelimo government that did not aid the South African masses, but threatened that any aid to the Black majority from Frelimo would "naturally lead to a head-on collision between ourselves and Mozambique."

South African Blacks responded by making courageous attempts to show their solidarity with Frelimo. On Sept. 25, 700 Blacks and some white students gathered in Durban to attend a rally in support of Frelimo. The police, who had earlier banned the demonstration, used dogs to break it up.

A similar rally at a Black university in northern Transvaal province was broken up by a large force of police

who used tear gas and fired over the heads of the students.

Following the demonstrations, the government launched a major crackdown on Black militants. Key targets were the South African Students Organization (a Black student group) and the Black People's Convention. These were the groups that organized the Durban demonstration.

Raids were reported in Durban and in African areas near Johannesburg, at Germiston, Kokstad and Kingwillamstown.

The *New York Times* reported that 12 to 30 had been arrested in these raids. In addition, at least 12 were arrested during the Durban demonstrations.

John O'Malley, who is the editor of the white South African *Daily News* of Durban, was also reported arrested. He was punished for publishing a report that the demonstrators would meet despite the police ban.

South African capitalism has troubles on another front as well. In the past two years it has been hit by a rash of strikes by Black workers. "Figures are hard to obtain and quickly go out of date," writes Michael Muirhead in the Sept. 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, "but the Minister of Labour told a questioner in Parliament recently that the past 23 months in Natal alone there had been 222 work stoppages involving 78,216 black workers. The actual figures are likely to be much higher, as some employers prefer not to report every minor strike to the Department of Labour."

Some South African capitalists have proposed legalizing Black unions, and Harry Oppenheimer, a big mine owner, has said he will bargain with Black workers organizations. However, the government has announced it will not recognize Black unions or allow anyone else to do so.

The extent to which the South African imperialists are willing to go to hold back the African revolution and perpetuate their racist rule was indicated Sept. 20 when the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that South African "atomic scientists are believed to be hurrying the country's first nuclear weapons into production."

## ...Ford speech means more attacks on workers

Continued from page 28

would provide 208,000 jobs. Yet by that time the number of workers unemployed or with insufficient jobs would stand around 10 million. The government would only be providing jobs for about 5 percent of those who need work!

Ford passed quickly through his next two points, which included recommending that government-supported mortgages should be extended and that something should be done about the plight of savings banks, although he had no suggestions of what.

Skipping the eighth point for a moment, Ford's ninth point is certain to be the most controversial. He proposed a 5 percent tax surcharge on families with gross incomes above \$15,000. This constitutes about 20 percent of the population.

The fiscal reasoning behind this proposal is to deepen the recessionary tendencies of the economy by reducing purchasing power, and that is why Ford's economic advisers suggested it.

Nor is it all that radical. Lyndon

Johnson imposed an across-the-board 10 percent tax surcharge on all incomes.

The Democrats are howling long and loud about this proposal.

But it's election time and if ever there is a campaign issue capitalist politicians love, it's higher taxes. They'll oppose them up until the day of elections. After that, the actual tax measures adopted by the government are worked out by the experts and rubberstamped by Congress.

Ford's final point was also designed to, deepen the recession. He proposed holding the budget down to \$300-billion. He even said that the Defense Department wouldn't be immune to budget cuts. But that was more window dressing for the real cuts on the way in health, education, and welfare spending.

What is needed is not minimal reduction in the figures the Pentagon asks for but abolition of all war spending.

From the standpoint of the world economic crisis, Ford's eighth point, on the international economy, should have been the strongest. It was the

weakest.

After a few high-sounding words, Ford's proposal came down to sending an emissary abroad to speak to a few foreign governments.

Ford said not one word about the acute famine that is haunting tens of millions of people in economically underdeveloped countries.

He made no mention of the severe economic crisis in Italy, which is also jeopardizing European banks and the international monetary system.

In fact, the most concrete reference in Ford's speech to international affairs came near the end, when he said, "Our inflation, our Public Enemy No. 1, will, unless whipped, destroy our country, our homes, our liberty, our property and finally our national pride as surely as any well-armed wartime enemy."

And Ford added, almost longingly, "I concede there will be no sudden Pearl Harbor to shock us into unity and to sacrifice. . . ."

This kind of appeal to patriotic nationalism betrays the essence of Ford's economic program. Above everything

else it is aimed at advancing the interests of U.S. monopoly on a national and world scale.

The politicians are hopeful that they can get a national spirit of self-sacrifice going in order to shore up corporate profits. They are way off base.

The profound lack of confidence of American people in the working of the government following the Vietnam war and Watergate (and iced with Ford's pardon of Nixon) is not going to disappear as the government more and more attacks wages and living conditions.

The crisis of confidence is going to deepen.

Bourgeois critics of Ford such as the *New York Times*, who want him to step up the attack on workers and move more quickly to wage controls, are whistling in the dark.

American working people are getting angrier and angrier. Ford's speech won't make them any happier—but a direct wage-freeze assault on the working class today could make the reaction to Ford's speech look like a Sunday school picnic.



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,  
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

OCTOBER 18, 1974

## Protests mount over corruption

# Thieu dictatorship faces new opposition

By Peter Green

Protesting the corruption of the Thieu regime, several thousand Catholics marched through the northern city of Hue on Sunday, September 8. It was the first Catholic antigovernment demonstration to be held in the former imperial capital. Police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs, confiscating anticorruption banners and dispersing the march. Hundreds of demonstrators later regrouped in a Catholic church, where a document denouncing Thieu was read.

The document, "Bill of Indictment Number One," was released in Saigon the following morning at a news conference in the lower house of parliament called by two Buddhist opposition deputies. They said police in Hue had fired 100 tear-gas grenades and clubbed demonstrators.

The September 10 *Washington Post* reported that the indictment charged Thieu with six specific acts of corruption:

"These include building houses and acquiring land with government money, halting an investigation of a fertilizer company run by his brother-in-law, profiting from the distribution of scarce rice in the northern part of the country and aiding drug smugglers."

The author of the document was Father Tran Huu Thanh, chairman of the People's Anticorruption Movement to Save the Country and Restore Peace. The movement came to public attention June 18, when 301 priests released a document denouncing corruption and injustice. Thieu prevented it from being widely reported by the press, but it was circulated to all Catholic parishes.

Another rally was organized in Hue September 15. Five thousand persons gathered in the square outside the city's main Catholic church to protest government corruption and the action of the police in breaking up the rally the previous Sunday. This time the police stayed away from the meeting.

The movement also spread to Da-nang, South Vietnam's second largest city. Tran Huu Thanh spoke to about 200 Catholics there September 17. They sent a letter to Thieu saying he would be reelected next year if he eliminated corruption, but if he did not, "the people would arise and launch a revolution."

The campaign launched by the Catholics triggered protests from other sectors. Some Saigon newspapers, including a few never before noted for their criticism of the government, began reporting the anticorruption campaign. Thieu reacted quickly.

On September 20, he ordered the confiscation of three dailies that had just printed the full text of Thanh's six-count indictment. Several hundred demonstrators immediately spilled into the streets. According to the September 21 *New York Times*, this was the first large-scale antigovernment eruption in Saigon since the signing of the Paris cease-fire agreements twenty months ago.

Defying the police who delivered the confiscation orders, printers and journalists, priests, Buddhist monks, newsboys, and onlookers grabbed the papers and tried to distribute them. Rather than have them confiscated, they used them for a bonfire in the street.

Demonstrators marched from the printing shops of the newspapers *Dai Dan Toc* and *Dien Tin* to the offices of the third banned paper, *Song Than*.

The campaign against Thieu has also been supported by South Vietnam's main veterans organization, James M. Markham reported in a September 14 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"The Association of Disabled Veterans, which vigorously opposed Mr. Thieu's one-man presidential race in 1971, declared its 'strong support' for 'the common struggle for freedom of thought, freedom of the press and free

democratic rights so that a just and durable peace can soon be restored in this country.'"

The important An Quang Buddhist faction has taken a step toward entering the antigovernment campaign as well. At a ceremony September 14 at the An Quang Pagoda—a focus of opposition to the Saigon regime in the mid-1960s—Senator Vu Van Mau announced the formation of an opposition grouping called the National Reconciliation Force (NRF).

The current wave of protests against the Thieu regime includes a broad range of opposition groups. Some leaders of the movement are probably reactionary, wanting a government able to "fight the Communists" more effectively.

In the past, most Catholic leaders have been anti-Communists and fervent supporters of Thieu. In fact, the main leader of the anticorruption movement, Tran Huu Thanh, spent many years teaching psychological warfare to South Vietnamese military officers.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that the Catholic leaders have noted the "increasing unwillingness of the US Congress to give aid, and fear that if corruption is not eradicated, aid will further decline. Catholic leaders think that it is in Ameri-



Demonstrations like this one in Saigon helped bring down a series of pro-U.S. governments during mid-1960s.

ca's interest to support the new movement and even suggest that they are in fact being watched with interest by the US."

The September 17 *Le Monde* reported that a telegram protesting the police repression was sent to the U.S. ambassador by a representative of the Catholic archbishop of Hue. "The opposition," *Le Monde* wrote, "thus showed what its real target was: it sees Mr. Thieu as being backed by the United States ambassador, Mr. Martin, who favors strong methods, and Mr. Kissinger, who has never condemned the pressures that his representative in South Vietnam has continually brought to bear on Congress in favor of President Thieu."

The Provisional Revolutionary Government and North Vietnam have both commented on this aspect of the anti-Thieu campaign. At his weekly news conference September 14 in Saigon, PRG spokesman Colonel Vo Dong Giang spoke about the opposition at length and charged that Washington was getting ready for "horse-changing if necessary," the September 15 *New York Times* reported.

"It is widely known that Mr. Thieu is getting more and more isolated right in his own ranks," the colonel said.

U.S. Ambassador Martin ridiculed any suggestion that Washington might be backing the opposition movement and could be thinking about dropping Thieu. He called it an "excellent example of Communist propaganda."

Radio Saigon predictably called the opposition campaign "a Communist maneuver to encourage the people to rise up and overthrow the government," and said the Communists would like "to open a new political front."

To drive this home, Thieu organized special political lectures for 1.5 million civil servants, soldiers, and members of other specialized groups, the September 18 *Washington Post* reported.

At the same time, Thieu has attempted to defuse the protests by initiating a "dialogue" between a delegation from the press and Information Minister Hoang Duc Nha, a cousin of Thieu's in charge of the censorship and, if need be, the confiscation of South Vietnam's newspapers.

Thieu has also ousted six of his forty-four province chiefs, including the commander of Hue, and has dismissed two generals and fourteen other officers for corruption.

Leaders of the current protests may only be aiming at some concessions. But the actions in favor of democratic rights and the breadth of the opposition to Thieu can have a deeper impact. As one Vietnamese Catholic quoted by the September 10 *Christian Science Monitor* put it: "If the left-wing priests talk about corruption, Thieu can always say that their criticism is exaggerated. But what does he say when the right-wing priests start talking about it?"

## U.N. World Population Conference spreads myth of

By Ernest Harsch

The United Nations World Population Conference opened in Bucharest, Rumania, on August 19 and lasted for two weeks. Drawing about 3,000 participants from more than 130 countries, the international gathering sought to alert the world to the perils of a "population explosion."

The delegates from the imperialist powers, particularly those representing Washington, argued that "too many people" are a threat to humanity, that the fallout from the "population explosion" is more destructive than the radioactive kind. A recent State Department memorandum, quoted in the August 18 *New York Times*, summed up this position:

"Excessive global population growth widens the gap between rich and poor nations; distorts international trade; increases the likelihood of famine in the relatively near future; adds to environmental problems; produces unemployment; enlarges the danger of civil unrest; and promotes aggressions endangering peace."

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, in his speech at the opening of the conference, echoed the same line. He linked population growth to

tion of the world's wealth as the cause of chronic hunger. The Chinese and Soviet delegations also backed this view.

The opposition of these delegates to the U.S. proposal blocked it from being incorporated into the final Plan of Action adopted by the conference on August 30. The imperialists, nevertheless, achieved part of their original goal. The Plan of Action called for the reduction of birth rates in the "developing countries" from 38 per thousand to 30 per thousand by 1985 and for an overall decline in world population growth from 2 percent a year to 1.7 percent by 1985. The U.S. delegates insisted on the 1985 target date.

Whatever the specific compromises were, the main fallacy of the document remained—that humans are multiplying to the point where food supplies are being outstripped.

This argument is not a new one. In 1798, the Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus published a pamphlet in Britain. In it he proclaimed that human populations grow much faster than their supply of food and that the world would soon not have enough to eat. He predicted that in two centuries the ratio of population to food would be 256 to 9.

reached nearly 800 million. While the overall standard of living was still low, he noted, everyone received the basic necessities of life.

Under capitalism things are different. Not only is the enormous potential of agricultural productivity underutilized, but millions go hungry in the midst of plenty. Frederick Engels noted this disparity as early as 1844 when he wrote:

"[Under the competitive conditions of capitalism] a stage must ensue in which there is so much superfluous productive power in existence that the great mass of the nation has nothing to live on, so that people starve to death from sheer abundance. . . . If the fluctuations of competition become stronger, as they necessarily do in such a state of affairs, then we have the alternation of prosperity and crisis, of overproduction and stagnation. The economists have never been able to understand this crazy state of affairs, so in order to explain it they thought up the theory of population, which is just as nonsensical, indeed, even more nonsensical, than this contradiction of the coexistence of wealth and poverty."

An article in the August 25 *New York Times* by William Robbins il-

production place strict limits on production if profitability is to be maintained.

As Marion Clawson, the acting president of Resources for the Future, Inc., a private research organization, told Robbins, "Of all the factors involved, the major one is economic—the price has to be right."

Thus, in light of the real causes of food shortages and scarcity, the theories of Malthus and his latter-day disciples stand revealed as capitalist mystifications that divert attention from the system itself. For it is only under capitalism that such phenomena as "overproduction" and "overpopulation" are possible.

In the chapter of *Capital* entitled "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation," Karl Marx pointed to the primary law that the size of the proletariat increases with the accumulation of capital. But as capital expands, as productivity increases, and as the ratio of constant capital (machinery, factories, raw materials) to variable capital (workers) grows larger, more and more workers become unemployed.

"The laboring population therefore produces," Marx wrote, "along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent. This is a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production. . . ."

Part of this "surplus population" is useful to the capitalists as a reserve army of labor, to be rapidly employed during periods of expansion and then to be dismissed just as quickly during a downturn.

In the age of imperialism and monopoly capital, however, the opportunities for rapid expansion become relatively fewer. The imperialist penetration of the colonial world prevents the economic development of scores of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and condemns their populations to constant impoverishment and periodic famine.

When the twentieth-century followers of Malthus speak of "overpopulation," it is these masses in the semicolonial countries they are referring to. Since under capitalism the colonial world is doomed to underdevelopment, or to extremely lopsided development, the imperialists don't see the unemployed as part of the productive system. They see "too many people," who might one day rise up and overthrow a system that consigns them to the "surplus" category.

The solution offered by the capitalists to their problem of a "population explosion" is the same today as it was more than a century ago. Engels wrote in 1844, "Now the consequence of this [Malthus's] theory is that since it is precisely the poor who constitute this surplus population, nothing ought to be done for them, except to make it as easy as possible for them to starve to death; to convince them that this state of affairs cannot be altered and that there is no salvation for their entire class other than that they should propagate as little as possible. . . ."

However, with the end of the capitalist system and the introduction of rational planning to fully utilize the productive capacity available to humanity, this "surplus" population would then become a valuable asset in the construction of a new society, the source of even greater wealth to



Reason for starvation is not overpopulation, but maintenance of economic backwardness in most of world

coming scarcities of food, energy, and raw materials and to the present poverty in the underdeveloped world. "Never before," he said, "have nations or the international community been faced with such expanding demand for food, shelter, employment, education and health care." He declared that "immediate action" was needed to prevent a "population catastrophe."

The head of the U.S. delegation, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar Weinberger, presented Washington's solution to the growing problem of feeding the hungry in the world. He proposed that the conference set a definite goal of lowering fertility to the replacement level by the year 2000 (which would mean an average then of two children per family).

Some of the delegates from the underdeveloped capitalist countries took issue with Washington's contention that a "population explosion" exists and that "too many people" causes economic crises and famine. They pointed to the unequal distribu-

While some believers may want to wait until 1998 to verify Malthus's prediction or to admit that he erred, it is clear from the leaps in food productivity brought about by the industrial revolution and subsequent economic developments that Malthus's theory was totally wrong. It neglected the revolutionary effects that science and intensified labor would have on the production of food. For example, writing in his book *The American People*, E.J. Khan noted that in the United States, "In 1820, the average farm employee produced food enough to sustain four people. In 1950, he could feed fifteen; in 1970, forty-five."

At the Bucharest conference, the head of the delegation from China, Huang Shu-tse, explained how the rational planning and increased productivity made possible by the Chinese revolution were able to sustain the enormous growth of the Chinese population. At the time of the revolution, he said, China had about 500 million people. Today this figure has

illustrated the economic factors that lie behind such an irrational contradiction. "The United States," he wrote, "has substantial reserves of agricultural resources that could help feed the world's hungry if there were sufficient economic incentives and significant changes in traditional Federal farm policy, a number of leading agricultural experts agree."

The traditional government farm policy that Robbins referred to was the practice of paying farmers to leave land uncultivated or to destroy "surplus" crops. The objective is to prevent "overproduction" and to keep agricultural prices and profits high.

Robbins cited various agricultural experts, including the U.S. Department of Agriculture's chief economist, Don Paarlberg, indicating that production of some crops could increase 50 percent in the next ten years—but only under "a favorable economic climate." The 50 percent figure itself is far below the actual potential, since even those capitalist economic conditions most favorable to increased food



# World news notes

## 'too many people'



Lining up for food in India. Contrast to China shows advantage of planned economy.

banish forever the specters of poverty and hunger.

"There is, of course," Engels wrote in a letter to Karl Kautsky, February 1, 1881, "the abstract possibility that the number of people will become so great that limits will have to be set to their increase. But if at some stage communist society finds itself obliged to regulate the production of human beings, just as it has already come to regulate the production of things, it will be precisely this society, and this society alone, which can carry this out

without difficulty. It does not seem to me that it would be at all difficult in such a society to achieve by planning a result which has already been produced spontaneously, without planning, in France and Lower Austria. At any rate, it is for the people in the communist society themselves to decide whether, when, and how this is to be done, and what means they wish to employ for the purpose. I do not feel called upon to make proposals or give them advice about it. These people, in any case, will surely not be any less intelligent than we are."

## Malaysian student jailed for reading Communist literature

Demonstrations were held in Sydney and Wellington August 31 and in Melbourne and Canberra September 12, to protest the imprisonment of Khoo Ee Liam by the Abdul Razak regime. Khoo, who had studied in both Australia and New Zealand, was arrested in February and is still being held in prison in Kuala Lumpur. Under the Internal Security Act, he could remain there for two years before being tried.

The regime has jailed Khoo for "offenses" he allegedly committed while in Australia and New Zealand. It is charged that as a high-school student in Australia, Khoo "studied a great variety of Communist literature" and enhanced "his knowledge and belief in the Communist ideology."

While in New Zealand, he "actively participated in the activities of the pro-Peking New Zealand/China Friendship Society" and associated with members of the New Zealand Communist party, according to the accusation. It is also claimed that he "attempted to join the Malayan National Liberation Army."

New Zealand's associate minister of foreign affairs, Joe Walding, protested the arrest of Khoo.

"If it is correct that some of the charges refer to Mr Khoo's association with alleged Communists in New Zealand, then clearly issues of liberty are at stake here," he said.

"There are no laws in New Zealand against Communists—nor against associating with them. I would be failing in my duty if I didn't uphold this."

Walding pointed out that at the time

the Khoo affair became public a group headed by the Malaysian prime minister, Tun Abdul Razak, was in Peking "talking to known Communists. Are they going to be prosecuted when they get home?" he asked.

New Zealand and Malaysian students picketed the Malaysian National Day celebrations in Wellington August 31. They called for the release of Khoo and other political prisoners in Malaysia. They also demanded an end to the surveillance of Malaysian students in New Zealand and an end to the restrictions placed on them by the Malaysian government. Malaysian students on the picket line had to wear masks to avoid identification.

The action completed two days of protest activities organized by the New Zealand University Students Association that included a march through Wellington to the Malaysian High Commission and a teach-in.

In Sydney, a rally and march were attended by 150 persons, about thirty-five of whom were Malaysian students. As in New Zealand, the Malaysians wore masks to avoid identification and reprisal by Malaysian government agents.

In Canberra September 12, sixty students staged a rally outside the Malaysian High Commission, while in Melbourne more than 120 Malaysian students demonstrated in the City Square.

The Australian Union of Students at its August council meeting allocated A\$1,000 (about US\$1,490) to continue the struggle in defense of Malaysian students.

## Artists force Moscow bureaucrats to back down

After using bulldozers, street-cleaning trucks, and plainclothes cops to break up an outdoor art show, Moscow authorities backed down in the face of worldwide protests and allowed a group of nonconformist artists to hold an outdoor exhibition.

The exhibition, held on Sunday, September 29, rather than on the preceding Saturday when most Soviet citizens would have been at work (this was the day preferred by the bureaucracy) attracted some 10,000 people. It was the biggest show of avant-garde art since the 1920s.

Works on display included contributions by four members of the official Union of Artists who ignored Kremlin warnings not to participate. Organizers of the exhibition said they would now press for an indoor show as well as additional outside exhibitions.

## Repression continues in Northern Ireland

British troops in Northern Ireland recently arrested four members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—the Irish section of the Fourth International), one RMG sympathizer, and a member of the People's Democracy group.

The arrests came during and immediately after a march of 2,000 people in Belfast organized by the Political Hostages Release Committee. All six of those arrested had been active in the committee and in the organisation of the anti-internment march.

The march was stoned by right-wing Protestants and subjected to an attack by British troops. But the arrested militants, who had acted as stewards on the march, were the ones charged with "riotous behavior."

The following day one RMG member appeared in court and was sentenced on the word of a member of the Black Watch to six months "reluctantly" suspended by the magistrate.

The five others were remanded in custody.

In the Magistrates' Court the evidence of several of the British soldiers was so transparently a fabrication that the cases against two militants were dismissed, charges against a third were dropped, while two others were given two-month sentences suspended for twelve months, again because the magistrate chose to believe a British soldier would not deliberately lie in order to achieve a conviction.

## Greek Communist Party legalized

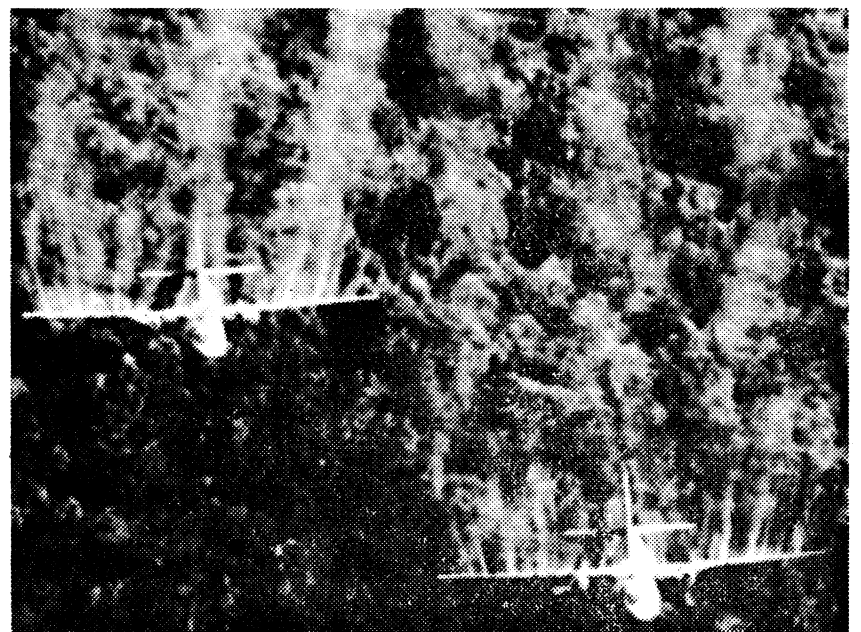
The Greek Communist party, outlawed since 1936, was legalized by Premier Constantine Caramanlis September 23. The decree abolished a ban enacted in 1947, which reaffirmed an earlier one imposed under dictator Ioannis Metaxas. "According to the latest decree," Reuters news agency reported, "all political parties must make statements to the prosecutor of the supreme court that their principles are against any act aimed at seizing power by force or overthrowing the free democratic government."

## Pentagon makes a killing on the market

The U.S. Air Force is dumping 2.3 million gallons of Agent Orange onto the world market. Agent Orange, the chemical that was used to defoliate nearly five million acres of South Vietnam, contains dioxin, the most toxic substance known after botulinum toxin.

Dioxin causes birth defects in laboratory animals even in concentrations "so low we cannot measure them," according to Dr. Diane Courtney, chief of the Toxic Effects Branch of the Environmental Protection Agency. It has been estimated that a drop of dioxin is sufficient to kill 1,200 people. Last year Harvard University scientists reported that dioxin in significant amounts had entered the food chain in Vietnam.

The Pentagon's interest in finding a commercial buyer for the poison stems from the fact that it stands to turn a tidy profit. The original cost of the defoliant was \$17 million, but the worldwide shortage of herbicides has driven its value up to \$80 million.



U.S. Air Force planes spray Agent Orange over Vietnam. Five million acres were defoliated in this way. Now Pentagon is trying to spread benefits of its poisons further afield, while turning a tidy profit.

## Anniversary of coup in Chile marked by solidarity actions around the world

In addition to the actions marking the first anniversary of the military coup in Chile that have already been reported in *The Militant*, other protests have occurred.

In Stockholm, 5,000 persons turned out September 11. The figures for other places in Sweden were: Göteborg, 700; Uppsala, 500; Malmö, 400; Helsingborg, 350; and Umea, 1,000.

In France the Union of the Left refused to support such demonstrations. Nevertheless, 4,000 persons attended a September 11 protest meeting in Paris and 10,000 marched September 14. The actions were sponsored by the Comité de Soutien à la Lutte Révolutionnaire du Peuple Chilien (Committee to Support the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chilean People). The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported that actions took place in thirteen other French cities as well.

In Montréal, 1,200 persons dem-

onstrated September 11. The keynotes were solidarity with the Chilean people and condemnation of Canadian government complicity with the military junta. The secretary general of the Québec Federation of Labor, Fernand Daoust, and Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal Confederation of National Trade Unions, addressed the demonstration, which was the high point of a cross-Canada "week of solidarity with the Chilean workers."

In Ecuador, the Comité de Solidaridad con el Pueblo de Chile (Committee of Solidarity with the Chilean People) announced plans for a day of activities and a rally in Quito. The plans were supported by the Central de Trabajadores del Ecuador (Ecuadorian Workers Federation) and several political organizations.

In Havana, Hernán del Canto, a member of the Political Commission of

the Chilean Socialist party, and several members of the Cuban Communist party leadership addressed a rally of several thousand persons.

In Sri Lanka, the Ceylon Mercantile Union held a one-hour work stoppage and demonstration in Colombo in solidarity with the Chilean people. *Rouge* reported that this was the first time since 1971 that a Sri Lanka union had organized an explicitly political and antigovernment demonstration.

In Italy, longshoremen refused to handle cargo to or from Chile September 18 and 19 in support of a boycott called by the International Federation of Transport Workers.

About 200 members of the International Longshoremen's Association in New York City halted all work on a Chilean freighter September 18 in response to the call. In addition, steam-

ship lines in the city handling Chilean cargo reported that longshoremen at their piers had done the same.

Buenos Aires

The only rally in Argentina marking the first anniversary of the military coup in Chile was sponsored by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, an Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). It was held September 11 at the Boxing Federation Arena in Buenos Aires.

More than 3,000 persons attended to show their solidarity with the Chilean working class and people, who are superexploited and oppressed by the murderous military junta that today rules Chile, and to denounce the thousands of crimes and brutal actions against the Chilean workers.

They demanded the release of political prisoners and voiced their opposition to the coup engineered by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Among those endorsing the rally were Agrupación Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores del Paraguay (Paraguayan Revolutionary Workers Association); Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores del Uruguay (Socialist Workers party of Uruguay); the Argentine delegation of the Chilean Socialist party; Movimiento de Cristianos por el Socialismo (Christians for Socialism Movement); Comando de Resistencia Popular (People's Resistance Commando Group); Agrupación Revolucionaria de Estudiantes Peruanos (Revolutionary Peruvian Students Association); Agrupación Socialista de Estudiantes Bolivianos (Association of Bolivian Socialist Students); a group of Chilean refugees recently arrived in Argentina; the Chilean refugee Marcos; and the neurobiology and learning-theory staff at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

Also, the members of the teachers provisional executive committee from Florencio Varela and Berazategui; Women's Liberation Movement; the shop stewards committees at Carlo Erba and Calzado Cardón; the plant committee at Ferrum; and other delegates and activists from various factories—among them Propulsora Siderúrgica (an iron and steel works), which just won an important fight that lasted several months.



Santiago, Chile, September 1973

### Chile protests

## 30,000 rally in Athens

About 30,000 persons gathered on September 11 in front of the Athens Polytechnic Institute, the center of the November 1973 mass mobilizations against the Greek junta, to protest against the denial of democratic rights in Chile. Most of the demonstrators, according to the September 14 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly paper that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists, linked support to the Chilean people with support to the Cypriot people against imperialist pressures.

On the same day, demonstrations in support of the Chilean and Cypriot peoples were held in Salonika, in the north of the country; Patras, on the Peloponnesus; and Khania, on the island of Crete.

A number of student and political organizations participated in the rally in Athens, along with the Eniaiotopike Allelengyes gia te Khile (EEAKh—United Front for Solidarity with Chile). There were also contingents from various schools. The participating groups had the right to have their own speakers on the rostrum.

The lead in organizing the demonstration was taken by the Diaskholike Epitrope, the All-Schools Committee, which is made up of elected representatives from the various educational institutions.

Among the student groups participating were those associated with the two factions of the Greek Communist party—the Regas Feraios, which is influenced by the "interior" faction; and

the Antidiktatorike Ethnike Foitetike Enosis tes Ellados (Anti-EFEE—Antidictatorial National Student Union of Greece), which is influenced by the "exterior" faction.

Another well-known student organization that participated was the Antifasistike Anti-imperialistike Spoudastike Parataxe tes Ellados (AASPE—Antifascist, Anti-Imperialist Student Group of Greece).

Contingents also took part under the banners of specific political organizations such as Andreas Papan-dreou's Panelleniko Sosialistiko Kinema (PSK—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement); the Sosialistike Epanastatike Pale (SEP—Revolutionary Socialist Struggle); and the Eniaio Metopo Epanastatikes Aristeras (EMEA—United Front of the Revolutionary Left). Some Maoist organizations were represented, as well as the group supporting the paper *Makhetes*.

Speakers representing *Ergatike Pale* and the EEAKh called for a united front of all political, labor, student, and humanitarian organizations to press for the release of the political prisoners and the restoration of democratic rights in Chile.

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## Why Maddox got dumped

# Georgia Democrats trying for new image

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—With the elections one month away, signs boasting "This is Maddox country" no longer dot the red Georgia clay. This year, instead of Lester Maddox, the Democratic candidate for governor is George Busbee, who won a landslide victory over Maddox in the September primary.

The *Atlanta Constitution* hailed the smashing defeat for Maddox as "the last hurrah for white racism" in the South. In his victory speech Busbee said, "The days of racial politics in Georgia are gone forever." Atlanta's first Black mayor, Democrat Maynard Jackson, declared Georgians can no longer "hark" on the old ways.

Maddox himself attributed historic significance to his defeat. In his concession speech, the segregationist worried "whether we have lost America," and he gave teary-eyed, off-key renditions of "Dixie" and "God Bless America."



Militant/George Basley

EAGAN: offers socialist alternative to racist policies of Democrats and Republicans.

Maddox began his political career a decade ago as the owner of a fried-chicken restaurant. In the mid-1960s he refused to go along with the decision by Atlanta's rulers to peacefully desegregate public accommodations. While the ruling rich were remaking Atlanta's image into "the city too busy to hate," Maddox was cultivating the image of the state's biggest defender of Jim Crow. In 1967, he was elected governor with the backing of rural Georgia, and he served until 1971. He is now lieutenant governor.

But the pace of political events caught up with Maddox. The civil rights movement that he opposed so vigorously won important concessions for Black people, making it more and more difficult for racists of the Maddox stripe to continue in office.

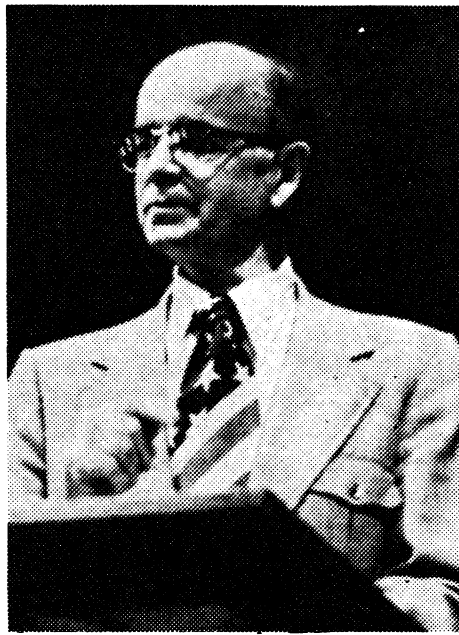
Among these gains was the right of Blacks to vote. The impact of this was seen in last year's election of Maynard Jackson as mayor of Atlanta, a city that is now more than half Black.

The growing political power of Black people forced the bankers and businessmen of Georgia to decide they could not get away with another term of Maddox as governor. Other astute politicians in the South, such as Alabama Governor George Wallace, have also seen the tactical advantage of softening their racist images.

Georgia's rulers also wanted a candidate more palatable than Maddox to tone down the growing cynicism of voters toward the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. By giving Georgia a face-lift, they also hope to attract more commercial enterprises.

But is George Busbee, their man on a white horse, ushering in a new era for Georgia, the end of "racial politics"?

Busbee has not uttered one word about the wave of police terror in Atlanta's Black community. The cops



MADDOX: bypassed in favor of more 'palatable' capitalist candidate for governor.

have killed 24 Atlantans in the past two years, 23 of them Black.

During the primary campaign, Maddox race-baited Busbee for receiving the endorsement of "radicals such as Julian Bond." Busbee responded by pointing out that he had once voted *with* the racists *against* seating Bond in the state legislature!

Later, Busbee was so embarrassed by another Black endorsement—that of Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—that he even suggested it might be a ploy to help Maddox.

Busbee is beholden to the capitalist interests who have poured more than \$500,000 into his campaign. These bankers and industrialists—the same who once bankrolled Maddox—selected Busbee this time because they think he can be most effective in maintaining the racist status quo in Georgia.

Busbee's most prominent backer is

former governor Carl Sanders, now a lawyer for the Georgia Power Company, while Maddox's most powerful supporter was State Senator Eugene Holley, also a lawyer for Georgia Power.

As majority leader in the state House of Representatives, Busbee's bills favorable to the electric utilities are so well-known that one opponent even dubbed him "Kilowatt George."

Under a Busbee administration, Georgians can expect Georgia Power to get the enormous rate hike it has requested. They can also expect that all the other ills of capitalist society—unemployment, inflation, racist police, poor schools, and rotten housing—will continue to get worse.

Busbee's Republican opponent, who has almost no chance of winning, supports the same basic program. The only candidate putting forward a genuine alternative in the November elections is Vince Eagan of the Socialist Workers Party.

Eagan is a well-known Black activist and a leader in the recent Atlanta protests against cop terror. He calls for removal of the racist police force from the Black community, and its replacement with a force selected and controlled by Black residents.

To end racist discrimination, the socialist campaign supports a crash program of government funds to build schools, hospitals, and housing, and to provide jobs in the Black communities.

Eagan opposes any rate hike for Georgia Power and favors taking the utility out of the hands of the profiteers, placing it under the control of working people.

The socialist candidate is also speaking out against the new state campaign law—written by Busbee—which would force the SWP to expose its contributors to government harassment by turning over their names to state officials.

## Mich. SWP candidate addresses UAW council

By TIM CRAINE

DETROIT—"You don't sound like a politician, you're more like a trade unionist," one United Auto Workers local president told Sheila Ostrow.

Ostrow, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Michigan's 7th C.D., had just addressed the Greater Flint Council of the UAW, which was meeting to consider campaign endorsements.

Ostrow and the council members discussed a wide range of issues, including how to combat inflation and unemployment, whether unions should support the Democratic Party or form an independent labor party, and how campaign "reform" laws threaten the ability of the labor movement to participate in politics.

Much of the discussion centered on the different approaches toward the Vietnam war taken by the SWP and by Ostrow's opponent, Democratic incumbent Donald Riegle.

Ostrow pointed out that even though Riegle was considered a "dove," because of his allegiance to the capitalist Democratic Party he failed to do what any SWP congressperson would have done—use the facilities of his office to maximum advantage to help organize mass antiwar demonstrations.

Although Ostrow was originally scheduled to meet with the UAW leaders for 20 minutes, they extended her time to 45 minutes. Council President

Dan Sein commented that it was the longest interview granted to any candidate, and another member added that it was "the most interesting."

On Oct. 1, SWP gubernatorial candidate Robin Maisel appeared on WKAR-TV in East Lansing to debate Eldon Andrews, the Conservative Party candidate.

Instead of allowing all candidates for governor to appear together, the station established a format that allowed Republican Governor William Milliken to debate his Democratic opponent Sander Levin, excluding the



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Socialist congressional candidate Sheila Ostrow urged labor officials to stop supporting capitalist parties.

so-called minor party candidates, who debated each other in groups of two.

The Socialist Workers campaign committee filed a complaint against the station, but this was rejected by the Federal Communications Commission. To protest the refusal to allow Maisel to debate his Democratic and Republican opponents, socialist campaign supporters picketed the station before the program was taped.

In another development, B. R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general, appeared on WWJ-TV to reply to an editorial endorsing campaign "reform" legislation.

Washington pointed to the government's record of harassment of the SWP and argued that campaign disclosure requirements would force the party to give the government a ready-made "enemies list."

"Thus," he concluded, "far from putting an end to government Watergating, the so-called reform legislation will only perpetuate these attacks on freedom of political association."

Maisel and other socialist candidates received a warm reception at a meeting of 100 sponsored by the Oakland County chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Early in the evening the chairwoman urged the audience to vote for Democrat James Blanchard for Congress in the 18th C.D. because his Republican opponent, Robert Huber, opposes legalized abortion.

When Blanchard arrived moments later and explained that he also opposed abortion, the audience was aghast.

SWP congressional candidates Christy Wallace (17th C.D.) and Sandy Peck (18th C.D.) then explained the SWP's support for free and legal abortions and were applauded vigorously.

## Campaign calendar

Oct. 14, 8 p.m., East Lansing: Rally at Michigan State University, Union Building, featuring Linda Jenness and Robin Maisel  
Oct. 15, 8 p.m., Ann Arbor: Rally at University of Michigan, Anderson Room, featuring Linda Jenness  
Oct. 16, 8:30 a.m., Royal Oak: Linda Jenness at Kimball High School  
Oct. 17, 8:30 a.m., Warren: Linda Jenness at Cousino High School  
Oct. 18, 12:30 p.m., Detroit: Linda Jenness at Wayne State University, University Center Building  
Oct. 19, 8 p.m., Detroit: Statewide Socialist Workers campaign rally at 3737 Woodward Ave.  
For more information call (313) 831-6135.

# New York SWP opens storefront office for campaign drive in Lower East Side

By DENNIS RICHTER

NEW YORK—Avenue B at Fourth Street is in the heart of a Puerto Rican and Black neighborhood in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

It's an avenue of small shops and decaying tenements, and on Saturday the streets are bustling with people.

On this particular Saturday, Oct. 5, many passersby took Socialist Workers campaign literature, bought copies of *The Militant*, and heard SWP congressional candidate Katherine Sojourner speaking through a bullhorn.

It was the opening of the new storefront Socialist Workers campaign headquarters at 48 Avenue B. The headquarters will serve as the base for intensive campaigning by Sojourner and her supporters on the

Lower East Side in the final month before the election.

A large "Vote Socialist Workers" banner hangs from the fire escape above the entrance. The display windows are filled with campaign posters, socialist books and pamphlets, and *Militant* posters proclaiming, "Your fight is our fight."

Also displayed in the windows are posters for the Oct. 27 Puerto Rican Independence rally in Madison Square Garden; for the United Farm Workers boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine; for the defense of Latin American political prisoners; and for other activities supported by the socialist campaign.

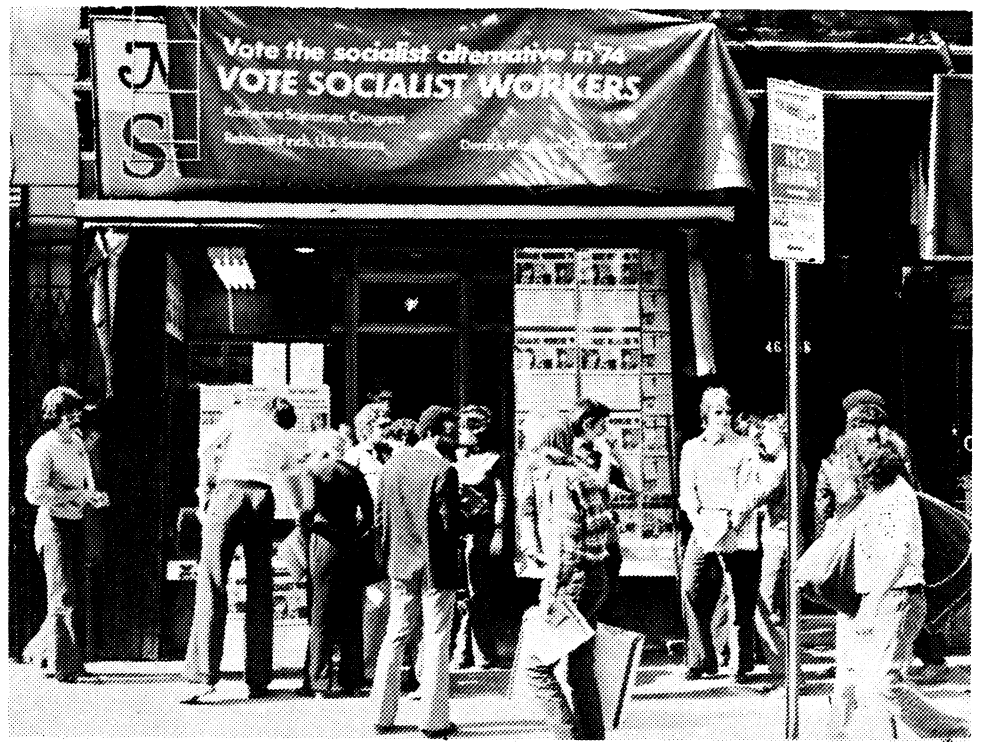
Walking into the headquarters one immediately sees a banner in support of the struggle of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to control their own schools in District 1. Sojourner is a well-known activist in that fight.

In the headquarters on opening day were two Parent Association presidents from schools in the district. They had stopped in to talk with Sojourner and pick up material on her campaign.

A banner on another wall declares, "To Make a Revolution It Takes Revolutionaries—Join the Young Socialist Alliance." YSA members were among the most active campaigners present, selling *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers, handing out campaign literature on street corners, and talking to young people in the community about Sojourner's campaign.

On the back wall of the headquarters, visible from the sidewalk, is a portrait of Malcolm X. A number of those who came into the office were interested in books by Malcolm, available there for sale, and they spent time discussing his ideas with the socialist campaigners.

About noon a table was set up in front of the headquarters and an impromptu street rally held. Sojourner, speaking through a bullhorn, explained the SWP campaign's support for the community's fight to control



New campaign headquarters at 48 Avenue B

Militant/Arthur Hughes



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for Congress, is well-known as activist in Lower East Side community struggle.

the schools in the district. She challenged her Democratic Party opponent, incumbent Ed Koch, to speak out in support of the parents in the district and their struggle for better schools.

Sojourner also pointed out that her campaign was the third run by the SWP in the district and that the two previous SWP candidates had also been supporters and activists in the school struggle.

It is the history of this community struggle and the Socialist Workers Party's participation in it that has led the way to the important step of opening the Lower East Side campaign headquarters.

Also speaking at the rally was Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Dixon spoke on the problems of unemployment, high prices, and deteriorating living conditions that are so acutely faced by people on the Lower East Side.

Dixon's proposals to deal with these problems were well received and applauded by many, including by a woman listening from a fire escape.

The final speaker was Ken Miliner, an activist in the Lower East Side struggle and a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

As Miliner ended his talk, the driver of a passing Avenue B bus asked for a campaign brochure. After looking it over he invited a campaign worker to get on the bus and pass out more of the material.

The first day of campaigning out of the Lower East Side headquarters gave an indication of the support that can be won for the socialist alternative in this oppressed community.

As if to emphasize the point, while walking home after the day's activities, about a block from the headquarters this reporter noticed a bright red-and-black "Vote Socialist Workers" poster in the window of a Puerto Rican social club.

## Campaigning for socialism

**DETROIT STUDENTS DEFY PRINCIPAL, ATTEND SOCIALIST RALLY:** Despite threats by principal Clarence Stone, 150 students at predominantly Black Highland Park High School participated in a Socialist Workers campaign rally at the school last month, reports *Militant* correspondent Matt Herreshoff.

Stone had announced over the public address system that the rally was "unauthorized" and that any students who attended or "signed their name" to anything would have it put in their record.

Highland Park students held up a banner saying, "This is the rally Stone doesn't want you to hear," while people gathered to hear SWP candidates Lee Artz (state board of education) and Hattie McCutcheon (U.S. Congress, 1st. C.D.).

Sixteen students signed cards endorsing the Socialist Workers ticket. As one was filling out the card, he was approached by another student who said, "Don't sign that because you don't know anything about it and you'll just get yourself into trouble."

The first student replied that the other didn't know what she was talk-

ing about because she hadn't heard any of the speeches. He then asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

**CALIF. REPUBLICANS CAN'T COPE WITH SWP:** When Houston Flournoy, Republican candidate for governor of California, spoke to a crowd of 150 people at San Diego State University last month, he ran head on into the Socialist Workers campaign.

Flournoy brought along Paul McCloskey, billed as an antiwar congressman, who ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1972.

Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, pointed out that Flournoy had challenged his Democratic opponent Jerry Brown to debate. Styron asked Flournoy to continue this policy and debate Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor.

McCloskey leaned over to counsel Flournoy to refuse, pointing out that when he debated 1972 SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness, "I got whipped."

Supporters of Rodriguez throughout the crowd challenged Flournoy on his support to California's undemocratic

election laws, his call for mass deportations of undocumented workers, and his lack of any solution to inflation and unemployment.

Puzzled by the crowd's lack of enthusiasm for him, Flournoy stated, "Either my random choice of questions is way off or there are a lot more socialists than I thought."

**BLACK PRESS SPOTLIGHTS EAGAN CANDIDACY:** The Sept. 14 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the largest Black newspapers in the country, features a page two article entitled, "Black Man Runs For Georgia Governor Seat On Socialist Worker Party Ticket," about SWP candidate Vince Eagan.

*Courier* correspondent Greg Mims describes Eagan as "a veteran of the late 60's civil rights, plus anti-war movement," and says the "SWP's particular political slant (is to put) the needs of the people first, as opposed to the concerns of big business. . . ."

**PROTEST EXCLUSION OF PA. SWP CANDIDATES FROM BALLOT:** Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party candidates Roberta Scherr for gover-

nor and Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate have been barred from ballot status because they do not meet the state's undemocratic requirement that a person be 30 years old to serve in either office.

Scherr has appeared on KYW-TV in Philadelphia and KDKA-TV in Pittsburgh to protest the refusal of the commissioner of elections to accept their nominating petitions.

SWP campaign supporters are gathering signatures on protest cards demanding that the socialist candidates be placed on the ballot.

Among those who have joined in the protest are William Davidson, professor at Haverford College; David Kairys, attorney; Bill Patterson, international representative, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and David Rudovsky, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Also, Mike Sletson, Philadelphia SANE; Dr. George Stevenson, chairman of the department of sociology, LaSalle College; Monsignor Charles Rice, Holy Rosary Church, Pittsburgh; and Graylin Swilley, chairperson of the University of Pittsburgh Black Action Society.

—ANDY ROSE



## Democrats' challenge defeated

# SWP candidates win spot on N.Y. ballot

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—In a major victory for the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign, the state board of elections announced Oct. 4 that it was certifying the full slate of SWP candidates for the November ballot.

The board certified the candidates of 10 political parties. In so doing, it rejected the challenges that had been made to the nominating petitions of the SWP, Communist Party, and Socialist Labor Party.

The challenges had been filed by a Democratic Party official, who charged that the sheets of the petitions were bound together by county rather than by congressional district. An obscure amendment to the election laws, changing how petitions should be bound, had been passed by the state legislature in June.

The SWP met the challenge both through a comprehensive legal rebuttal to the charges and through a campaign of winning broad public support for its ballot rights.

Attorney Herbert Jordan represented the SWP candidates before the board of elections. He demonstrated that the Socialist Workers campaign committee had made every effort to obtain copies of the new election law, but that the secretary of state and the board of elections had stalled on making it available until after the socialists had filed their petitions.

Jordan also cited numerous precedents to show that since the petitions met the substantive requirements—they included almost twice the legally required number of signatures—they should not be disqualified on a technicality.

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, hailed the board's decision as "a victory not only for the Socialist Workers Party, but also for the democratic rights of all the people of New York State."

"It is clear," Finch stated, "that the board's decision is a result of the public outrage at this attempt by the Democratic Party to prevent socialists from appearing on the ballot. Protest



Militant/Martha Harris

Board of elections rejected challenges to SWP petitions, which had been signed by 37,000 New Yorkers.

letters and telegrams have been pouring in all week urging dismissal of the challenges against my petitions."

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) organized support for the right of the SWP and the other radical parties to ballot status.

Scores of telegrams were sent to the state board of elections by such prominent individuals as Imamu Amiri Baraka, Congress of African People; Daniel Berrigan; Luis Fuentes; attorneys William Kunstler and Florynce Kennedy; Beulah Sanders, National Welfare Rights Organization; Irwin Silber, executive editor of the *Guardian*; and Patrick Knight, president of Social Service Employees Union Local 371.

Several hours before the board released its ruling, Democratic senator-

ial nominee Ramsey Clark issued a statement urging that the SWP candidates be placed on the ballot.

Clark's statement came in response to an open letter to him issued by Rebecca Finch. Finch had said in part:

"When you announced your candidacy for the U. S. Senate, you said, 'I will run with the highest possible fidelity to democratic principles.' You called on other candidates to 'insist that candidates have an equal chance to reach the people,' and stated, 'The most important piece of business for America is to restore integrity to elections and government.'"

"I face a serious challenge to my democratic right to be on the ballot in New York in the coming elections.

"These challenges to our ballot status are part and parcel of government and right-wing harassment against us. They are aimed at denying us our democratic right to run in elections and to talk with New York voters about our ideas.

"In a *New York Times* article of Oct. 1, a 'Democratic source in the state capitol' said, 'We're sick of those minor parties siphoning votes away from us.' As a civil liberties advocate, I hope you will not let this statement by a colleague in your party go unanswered.

"I urge you to uphold the democratic principles to which you say you adhere by lending your support to this important fight for democratic rights."

In his last-minute response, Clark stated, "I very much hope that the Socialist Workers Party can be on the ballot. I believe that democracy intends all personalities and thoughts be tested in the marketplace of ideas. I hope no technicality will be used to violate the spirit of the election law and to prevent this party's placement on the ballot, for to do so would be unfair to the people of New York and all those who love democracy. . . ."

The state board of elections also rejected the challenges to the SWP petitions that had been filed by Bruce

Pyenson, a member of the right-wing sect calling itself the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

As the SWP pointed out, the NCLC filed their specifications after the legal deadline. Their challenges were based on unfounded and slanderous allegations of fraud. NCLC tried to pursue the challenges in court, but failed.

NCLC also dropped their court challenge against Claire Moriarty, SWP congressional candidate in the 20th C.D.

The New York City board of elections has indicated that it will place Moriarty's name on the ballot, along with SWP congressional candidates Katherine Sojourner and Maxine Williams.



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Campaigning in NYC. Ballot dispute sparked interest in socialist candidates.

## S.F. socialist: 'Tax profits to improve schools'

By LINDA NORDQUIST

SAN FRANCISCO—Sylvia Weinstein, a longtime labor and community activist, launched her campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of education at a Militant Labor Forum here recently.



Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for San Francisco board of education.

"I can say right now that I will not be a neutral if I'm elected," Weinstein declared. "When there are demonstrations at the board for better school conditions for our children or teachers, I as a board member will be on that picket line, not inside holding my ears to shut out the noise."

Also speaking on the panel was Yvonne Golden, vice-president of the San Francisco Women's Political Caucus and a member of the Black Teachers Caucus and American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 61.

Golden announced her support for Weinstein's campaign, saying, "She speaks the truth about our schools and what needs to be done."

In a statement to the media, Weinstein said, "It is a well-known fact that the educational system in San Francisco is the worst in the state. Yet we know money is available to bring quality education to every child.

"We have two monopolies in this city that pay no property tax at all: Pacific Telephone and Pacific Gas & Electric. If we taxed all the profiteers, we would be able to eliminate any property tax on the small homeowner," the socialist candidate said.

She also called for eliminating federal war spending and using that money for social needs such as education.

The San Francisco *Chronicle* highlighted another part of Weinstein's platform in its headline announcing her candidacy: "Candidate Backs Teachers Right to Strike."

Weinstein has addressed the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, the International Longshoremen's Union Legislative committee, and Painters Local 4.

She was also well-received at a meeting called by Service Employees International Union Local 400 (city workers) to oppose a city charter amendment, Proposition L, which is on the November ballot.

"The purpose of this proposition is to bring the wages of unionized city workers down to the level of non-union private industry," Weinstein said.

"This is a blatant attack by the board of supervisors—all liberal Democrats who pose as 'friends of labor'—on the lowest-paid workers in this city, most of whom are women clerical and hospital workers. I am campaigning for a 'no' vote on Proposition L and encouraging people to fight against it."

Weinstein also participated in a meeting of 400 angry parents, teachers and students at the board of education protesting cutbacks in education.

In a statement distributed at the meeting, she called for immediately instituting bilingual programs, and for an end to the freeze on hiring paraprofessionals and teachers.

"Oppressed nationalities (Chicanos, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks) make up the majority of pupils in our schools," she said. "An equal education for children from Spanish-, Chinese-, and Tagalog-speaking homes cannot be guaranteed without bilingual instruction."

After Weinstein spoke to a class of 12 at the Urban High School, eight people, including the teacher, signed cards endorsing the statewide SWP campaign.

Others endorsing Weinstein include Margaret Douglas, head of the welfare commission for San Francisco; Linda Festa, a founder of Child and Parent Action (CAPA) and a member of AFT Local 61; Libby Deinebeim, chairperson of the San Francisco Council on Early Childhood; and Pat Crawford, chairperson of NOW child-care committee and member of AFT Local 61.

Weinstein is a cochairperson of CAPA and a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2694; and Committee for the Expansion of Children's Centers.

# Roger Baldwin: Cannon looked to the future

The following are major excerpts from remarks made by Roger Baldwin at the tribute to James P. Cannon held in New York City Sept. 18. Cannon, who died Aug. 21, was a leader of the revolutionary socialist movement since the early years of this century.

Baldwin, 90 years old, was a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union. He was the ACLU's executive director from its founding until his retirement in 1950. Baldwin was associated with Cannon for several decades in work on numerous civil liberties and labor defense cases.

Baldwin's participation in the tribute meeting was especially fitting in light of the fact that today the Socialist Workers Party and the ACLU are again associated in an important civil liberties fight. On Sept. 10 the ACLU filed suit challenging the constitutionality of the federal campaign "reform" law, which requires the socialists to turn over to the government the names and addresses of contributors to SWP election campaigns.

Friends of Jim Cannon and the SWP, with these sons and grandsons on the platform [Cannon's son Carl and his grandson Matthew Ross also spoke at the meeting], I have to play the role of grandfather tonight. For Jim and I both were grandfathers. And I think that perhaps I'm the only one here who knew Jim in his younger days, when he first came into New York at least.

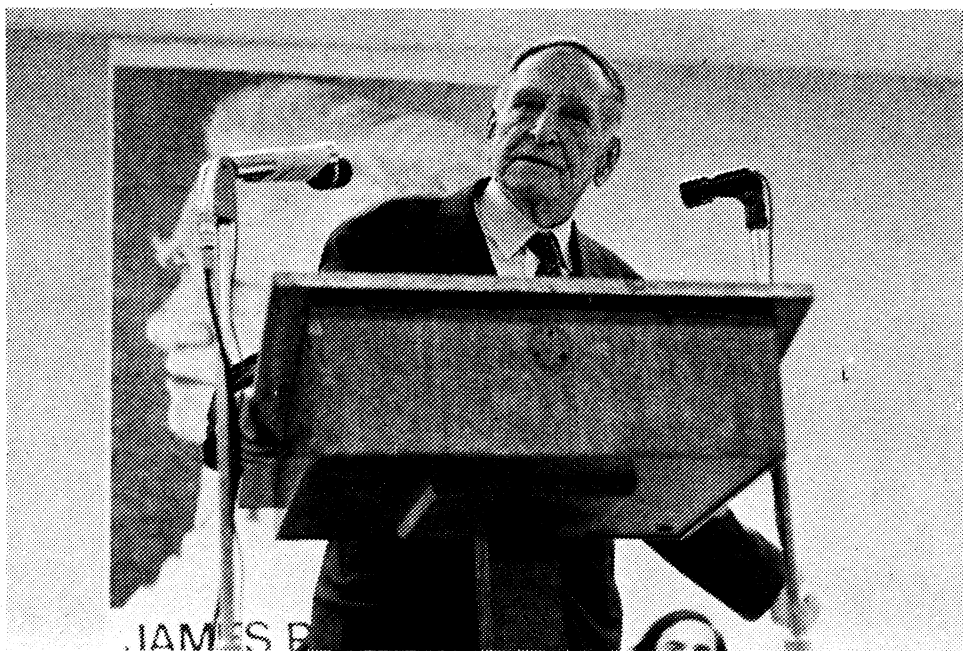
Jim and I were frequently in contact and cooperation, certainly in friendship, until he left New York for the West Coast. I haven't seen him since, but those were the years of his greatest activity, and the years in which I had the privilege of knowing him.

In the early 1920s we were, the two of us, in the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party [the ILD was an organization initiated by the CP in its pre-Stalinized period to defend political prisoners of all points of view], and I in the early years of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I think we had the same indignation about the same wrongs, and we had the same remedies—the good old remedies of the American tradition of the Bill of Rights.

The International Labor Defense and the ACLU parted company some years later—I think after Jim left it—on the issue of the misuse and abuse of the International Labor Defense for political purposes.

I found Jim a man of most unusual



Baldwin at New York meeting, attended by 450 people

Militant/Jo Hendrickson

combinations—of strengths and humor and wit, and of friendship, and of understanding of all kinds of people with whom he had to deal. For the International Labor Defense, like the Civil Liberties Union, didn't confine itself to [defending] any one group of people. And so we both of us had to in our own ways and through our organizations operate on a rather broad scale.

Jim and I had other interests in common. In the first place, we started with the presumption that the human race has to be improved and we were going to help do it. We had to improve it—I thought—by methods of reform; he thought by methods of revolution. We had no difficulty in finding a common ground in discussing the practical measures ahead of us.

Both of us welcomed the Russian revolution. He went there; I went there. I thought it was the road; he thought it was the road to the future.

When I was there, which was in 1927, there was an atmosphere that has not marked the Soviet Union since the expulsion of Trotsky and the consolidation of the dictatorship.

I wrote a treatise after I was there, trying to discover the extent of what you'd call liberty under the Soviet dictatorship. For there were some forms of liberty. But it didn't last long.

And after the expulsion of Trotsky I assisted his friends in trying to get him—and succeeded in finally getting him—into Mexico.

I tried to get back to the Soviet Union afterwards. I was invited to head a party, and I got a refusal on the part of the local people. So I went

to see the Soviet ambassador. The Soviet ambassador said to me, "We know you. You tried to help Trotsky get to Mexico, our worst internal enemy. Do you expect a visa?"

And I said, well, perhaps you're very reasonable about it. I said I don't expect a visa after that.

He said, "We don't give visas to Trotsky's friends."

Jim and I had some other contacts and interests in common. Both of us went to jail. I was in jail during the First World War as a conscientious objector. Jim was in jail later [for opposition to World War II], as you all know.

We also had a common experience in an American revolutionary organization of many years ago, the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World]. He was a member of it before he came to New York. I was a member of it

for a very brief period in which I tried to earn an honest living with my hands. I was experimenting with manual labor, as a preparation, I thought, for a possible role in the labor movement.

I lasted about four months. I came to the conclusion that I was better suited for something else. Clarence Darrow once said that it's a lot easier to be a friend of the working man than a working man. I found that out.

What we're celebrating here tonight is really the life not only of a comrade of yours, not only of a leader in the American radical movement, not only a man who was faithful to the principles for which I too stand—the principles of freedom and equality and justice in American life—but a man who was faithful also to a belief in the future.

The one thing that characterizes all of us here tonight is that we all have faith and hope for a world in which some of the ideals, some of the goals for which we stand will at last be realized.

This is not a discouraging age. It is an age in which a great future will open up with the ending of all world wars, with the end of empires, and with the emergence as we have begun to see it today all over the world, of those who have been suppressed and those who have been denied the equality of race, religion, and sex, and those who have been denied their national freedom and their civil rights.

We see just the beginnings of the order for which so many have fought, so many have yearned for ages. And I'm sure that what Jim Cannon stood for, what you here tonight stand for, in this party and in this assembly, represents the beginning of the kind of hope, the kind of faith, to which so many have given their lives.



Cannon addressing a meeting of International Labor Defense in 1926. Chairwoman is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.



Southwest team on the road

Militant/George Cox

## SUPPORT THE CANNON FUND

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched Aug. 23 to pay tribute to this great revolutionist by pushing forward the work to which he devoted his life. After six weeks the fund now stands at \$59,349.47.

One of the main uses of the fund is to pay for living expenses of the 15 Young Socialist teams now traveling from city to city selling socialist literature and speaking for Socialist Workers Party candidates. Jim Cannon himself did the same kind of soapboxing around the country as a member of the Industrial Workers of the World prior to World War I.

Baltimore is an example of the type of response the teams are getting. One hundred people turned out to a meeting on the socialist perspective built by the team at predominantly Black Morgan State College. As a result of the team's meetings and sales in Baltimore, 30 people have decided to form a continuing Marxist study class.

Please send your contribution to enable these young people to continue spreading the socialist message as Jim Cannon did throughout his life.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$\_\_\_\_\_

(Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: James P. Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack. Treasurer: Andrea Morell.



# Cannon and the Sandstone checkers match

The following are major excerpts from the remarks made by Harry DeBoer at the tribute to James P. Cannon held in Minneapolis Sept. 6.

DeBoer was a leader of Teamsters Local 574, which led the series of strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 that helped make that city a union town. In the course of the strikes he joined the Trotskyist movement, which played a key role in leading the struggle. During the strikes Jim Cannon came to Minneapolis from New York to aid the Trotskyist union leaders on the scene.

DeBoer was among the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters union who were convicted under the Smith Act in 1941. He served his sentence with Cannon and 12 other defendants at Sandstone federal prison in Minnesota.

In the speech, "Skogie" refers to Carl Skoglund, who was president of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 (the continuation of Local 574). He came to this country from Sweden in 1911, was a founding member of the Communist Party and a founder of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. He never obtained U.S. citizenship, and faced threats of deportation by the U.S. government until his death in 1961.

Jake Cooper, also referred to, was another participant in the 1934 strikes and one of the 18 convicted in the 1941 Smith Act trial.

I'm proud to stand here before you tonight to tell you that I had the opportunity to work with one of the greatest revolutionists this country has produced.

I first met Jim Cannon at a staff meeting of the strikes in 1934. I can remember that now as if it was yesterday. We were in a meeting and Cannon walked in. Skogie was sitting on the side of the hall. And Jim said, "What the hell kind of trouble are you gettin' us into now?"

When he made this remark, Skogie put the same smile on his face that he's got there in the picture on the wall, and didn't say a word.

To me, that meant that Jim was our kind of people, and he really proved that to me as we worked together.

I tell you this just to give you an idea of what Jim was like, working and living with him. When Jim was here in Minneapolis speaking or giving lectures, he always spoke differently than he did when he, should I say, "let his hair down" and spoke with us



Smith Act victims have steak dinner upon release from prison in 1945. Clockwise from front left: Harry DeBoer, Farrell Dobbs, Jim Cannon, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Carlos Hudson, Jake Cooper, V.R. Dunne, Max Geldman, Clarence Hamel.

truck drivers after these strike meetings.

That is what Jim liked to do. He liked to take a drink. He had a sense of humor. He was witty, and some of the truck drivers were too. So that is where he felt at home.

He always made a point of getting a room at the West Hotel that was practically half as big as this hall, so that he would have a place for gatherings of his kind of people.

One word Jim would often use at these gatherings was "savvy," and another was "moxie." He used to say, "Give me a worker that has savvy and moxie, and we'll take over this world."

Well, history will show that truck drivers in 1934 under the leadership of the Trotskyists—of which Jim was one of the leaders—built one of the best unions the Northwest has ever seen.

When Roosevelt was preparing for war, he knew the leadership of this union would not support a war, and they had to try to get rid of the union leadership. But it took the local government, the state government, the federal government, all of the finks and bureaucrats in the trade-union movement—it took that whole shebang in order to get us out of the union, and before they could do it they had to put us in jail.

I want to cite a little experience from the prison that, again, shows the kind of man Jim was. The first 30 days in jail we were in quarantine. We

weren't even allowed to have a newspaper. But we were able to play checkers.

So we started playing checkers. And everybody claimed to be the champion checker player. Jim, I admit, was an exceptionally good player. And I think he could probably be considered the champ. But after arguing over who was the champ, we finally decided on a tournament. And in the elimination it so happened that Jim got beat. I don't know how; he probably turned his head to spit or something. But nevertheless, Jake [Cooper] and I turned out to be the two to play for the championship.

Jim comes to me and says, "Harry, I'm going to make you the champion." So he was my coach. And the result was, I beat Jake. Jake and his follow-

ers immediately claimed foul play.

So Jim comes to me and says, "Harry, you just dummy up and keep your mouth shut. I'll be your mouthpiece."

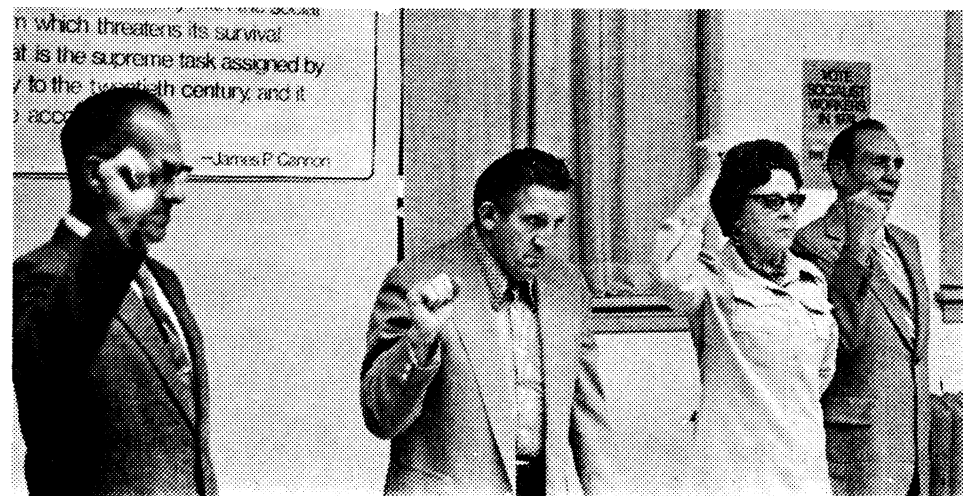
He says, "Jake's a pretty tough boy, so we won't play him again. But I'm going to propose to him that we have a hearing and a trial, so to speak, to decide this. I'll go and talk to Jake and I'll propose that Skogie be the judge, because," he says, "I got something on Skogie—he hasn't got papers."

So we went to trial. Jim set me on the stand, and he said to Skogie, "Your honor, I'm DeBoer's mouthpiece. I've told him to dummy up. The reason I'm telling him to dummy up is because he wants to prove that he's the champion. He's a fighter, and he wants to play checkers and play it over the board and prove that he's the champion."

"But that isn't the point here. There is a charge of foul play. And I don't want that young man's name to have a black mark on it. He could play checkers and win every game till doomsday but that mark would still be there. That's why, your honor, I am asking you to decide this issue, and after you hear our opponents, I'm sure you will agree that DeBoer can take that black mark from his name and agree that he is the true champion."

Well, after the trial, Skogie agreed that I was the champion. I cite this just to show you the humor of Jim Cannon.

Now, at this gathering and farewell to Jim, I can proudly say to Jim that I'm speaking to a group of workers that have savvy and moxie, and I can assure you that they're not going to let you down.



Speakers at Minneapolis tribute singing 'The International' at close of meeting. From left: Charles Scheer, Jake Cooper, Pauline DeBoer, and Harry DeBoer.

# Cannon in 1929: a lesson for Stalinist goons

The following comments and tribute to James P. Cannon are by Fannie Curran, who was expelled from the Young Communist League as a Trotskyist sympathizer in 1928. She was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in the Minneapolis branch of the SWP.

I first met Jim Cannon in January 1929, when he was on his first speaking tour for the Left Opposition [supporters of the views of Leon Trotsky who had been expelled from the Communist parties in the Soviet Union and around the world] on the subject "The Real Situation in Russia and the Truth About the Left Opposition."

Despite the fact that Jim warned us that we had better come to the meeting early and be prepared that the Stalinists would try to break it up,

no one took that warning seriously. We just couldn't visualize that the comrades whom we had known and worked with for years would go so far as a physical attack.

But that is precisely what happened. Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund, who did appear somewhat early, were attacked and badly beaten. Oscar even spent some days in the hospital. An edition of *The Militant* of that period will show his picture with scars of that beating.

Comrade Cannon kept right on speaking throughout all the heckling and name-calling of "counterrevolutionist," "sniveling Trotskyite cur," "renegade," and all the others with which we are now only too familiar.

Then all hell broke loose. The landlady of the hall called the cops. Four of them showed up and by that time a number of chairs were broken and a free-for-all ensued. The cops were

nonplussed. Here were communists fighting communists.

At that point one of the members of the Young Communist League pointed at Cannon and shouted to the cops: "Arrest him—he's a counterrevolutionist!" A general roar broke out and the cops cleared the hall.

Comrade Cannon said the matter could not end there. We contacted the Wobblies, who were always ready to defend the right of free speech, and the meeting was held at their headquarters a few days later. We were well prepared with baseball bats—or as Jim said, shillelaghs, "just in case we should suddenly go lame."

Despite the fact that C. R. Hedlund went into the headquarters of the Communist Party and dared them to try to break up our meeting, not one of the Stalinists showed up. They evidently realized that their valor at this particular meeting was not the better part

of wisdom.

I also attended the conference in Chicago in May 1929 where we first established ourselves formally as the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). Jim opened the meeting by declaring that this was the most

*We invite friends and comrades of Jim Cannon to send us their reminiscences of him. We will try to print contributions that add new information or insights into his life and work in the revolutionary socialist movement.*

historic conference in American revolutionary history. How very prophetic his words turned out to be.

Without a doubt Comrade Cannon was the greatest leader the American Trotskyists have yet produced.

## Another view of Kofsky's 'Lenny Bruce'

Lenny Bruce: The Comedian as Social Critic and Secular Moralist by Frank Kofsky (Distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York. Paper, \$1.95) was first reviewed in the Sept. 27 issue of *The Militant*. The following is a response to that review.

Eight years after he died shooting heroin in his bathroom, we are reaching the crest of a wave of books, movies, articles, and plays about Lenny Bruce. A broader audience is taking an interest in him, including people who were too young (or too hung up) during his lifetime.

In the midst of this, the still-solid cadre of the Lenny Bruce cult is out recruiting new adherents. Depending on their tastes, they look back on him as a drug-culture saint or a martyr in the struggle to shatter sex taboos.

### Books

To Frank Kofsky, the history professor as jazz critic and secular hero-worshiper, Bruce was a revolutionary.

Not just a nightclub comedian with some pretty radical ideas. A revolutionary.

Lenny Bruce was daring. He ridiculed some of the most sacred, sick features of American life—the Catholic church, racism, the cold war. But he was a liberal. He supported capitalism. (Kofsky dismisses Bruce's procapitalist statements as "lapses.")

As the excerpts in this book reveal, he had some pretty backward ideas about women. (Kofsky doesn't seem to have noticed.) He was cynical and satirical about politicians, but he had illusions about John Kennedy.

Bruce was not part of the radicalization that swelled up in the sixties. He really belongs to the late fifties, and especially to the prehistory of the so-called sexual revolution (along with *Playboy* magazine, Norman Mailer, and Paul Krassner).

Many of his sensational arrests were based on his use of four-letter words on stage. He was part of a general assault on sex taboos, and much of the more serious content of his humor was an attempt to pierce sexual hang-ups by dragging them out into the open.

Aside from exaggerations such as comparing



Lenny Bruce poking fun at faith healers

Bruce to Malcolm X, the main failing of Kofsky's book is that it doesn't deal with the negative sides of Bruce and the whole sexual revolution he represents. Bruce was a prisoner of a superficial, super-hip milieu in which panting at "chicks" as two-dimensional sex objects was exalted as progressive, a blow against the puritanism of the fifties.

It's a little unfair to Bruce to single him out as a sexist, because he was a product of an era when there was no feminist movement and he just didn't know any better. But it is Kofsky who is unfair to Bruce, because he tries to set him up as a revolutionary, and a revolutionary would be expected to know better.

Having gone off the deep end of the Lenny Bruce cult, Kofsky keeps going deeper in an attempt to discover Bruce's ideological roots.

Was he a Marxist? (Not Harpo—Karl.) Was he a veteran class-struggle militant of the actors' union? No. Kofsky wouldn't say anything so preposterous. Bruce, Kofsky says, was a revolutionary Black Orthodox Jewish rabbi!

Bruce often satirized racism, and he also based

many of his bits on the ironies of being Jewish in WASP America. (Both of these were popular topics in the late fifties and early sixties.) And he displayed a penchant for sympathizing with anyone he considered an underdog, including the racist whites he liked to make fun of.

Kofsky weaves all this into a theory. With the help of Leo Rosten's *The Joys of Yiddish*, he concludes that the Jewish religion is saturated with a distinctive sense of compassion (in Yiddish, *rachmones*). And it has a tradition of folksy preachers who used stories and humor to teach the people.

Kofsky also asserts, without the aid of any visible evidence, that Bruce came from an Orthodox Jewish background and was deeply steeped in these religious traditions.

On top of that, he was not just a liberal who despised racism; he absorbed by osmosis the whole social outlook of Black people, through the jazz musicians he worked with, to the extent that he became "culturally Black."

So Bruce set out to be a revolutionary rabbi in the guise of a hipster comedian.

I have a theory about Frank Kofsky and all the aware, radical-minded people—including (I suspect) Rich Lesnik, who wrote the glowing review of Kofsky's book in the Sept. 27 *Militant*—who remain to this day hard-core Lenny Bruce freaks.

The fifties, and even the beginning of the sixties, were bleak years. Nothing was moving politically except in the South, where the early civil rights movement was largely confined. The small layer of young people starting to question American society had very little around them to identify with as a force for rebellion and social change. The socialist movement had dwindled so severely that even if you happened to find it, it didn't look very promising.

In that atmosphere, along came an outrageous comedian who seemed to articulate the anti-establishment stirrings of that handful of dissidents—their revulsion for racism, hypocrisy, religion, flag-waving.

And so Lenny Bruce came to be identified with their own radicalization, which actually went much further than his as time went on.

Frank Kofsky has written an interesting if not balanced contribution to the study of a figure who was the center of a significant civil liberties case, an iconoclast who had a big impact on a whole varied layer of writers, entertainers, and even radical activists.

—BARRY ROTH

## Is 'Chico and the Man' a step forward?

*Chico and the Man*. Produced by James Komack in association with Wolper Productions. Directed by James Komack and Peter Baldwin for NBC-TV.

Its second week on the air, NBC's *Chico and the Man* was the most-watched TV show in the country, according to the Nielsen ratings.

This is worth noting since the main character of this situation comedy is a Chicano.

*Chico and the Man* purports to be a show that is not afraid to deal with the controversial topic

### Television

of the racial oppression of Chicanos. But it does no such thing. Instead *Chico and the Man* takes place in a fantasy world in which the harsh realities of racial oppression are either ignored or papered over.

The theme of the show runs like this: A young Chicano (Chico) gets a job in a none-too-prosperous one-man garage as an assistant to the aging Anglo owner (Ed Brown). Chico is hard-working, bright, and ambitious. Full of ideas on how to improve the business, he is intended to personify Chicanos on the move.

He lives in a panel truck (with a "Viva la Raza" poster on the door).

But rather than the hip young Chicano that he may appear to be, a new Stepin Fetchit has been created, who sits at his master's feet, never complaining of his racist treatment. Chico even serves his boss breakfast in bed when he is too depressed to fix it himself.

Ed Brown is lazy, complacent, and stingy. He doesn't want to improve the business. He likes things the way they are. And he doesn't like Chicanos. A thoroughgoing racist, he is made out to be a lovable guy underneath the gruff exterior. He personifies rigid, conservative elements of Anglo society, but sugar-coated to look harmless and even sympathetic.

Chico, naturally, gets in his hair. He wants to fire Chico, but can't. So the old man tries to get rid of him with a steady stream of vicious race-baiting wisecracks, hoping he'll leave on his own.

Here is an example of the "humor" in this "comedy":

The first day of work, the ambitious Chico shows up in mechanic's coveralls, on the back of which he had sewn, "Ed's Garage." But it is misspelled, "Ed's Garbage." "My girlfriend doesn't spell too good," explains Chico. Well, says the old man, it's not so inappropriate, considering what's inside. This is supposed to be funny.

But Chico goes through this unperturbed. And there we have the main dynamic of the plot: The old man is stuck with Chico, who refuses to quit.

Anglos and Chicanos are stuck with each other, so they may as well learn to get along.

The solution to the racial oppression of Chicanos is thus reduced to the simple proposition of understanding and getting along with a grumpy old man. If only life were that simple.

Even from a technical standpoint the show was not conceived with much concern for authenticity. A letter of protest printed in the *Los Angeles Times* points out that Chico is not a believable Chicano character. He does not speak either English or Spanish like a Chicano, the writer commented, nor does he walk like a Chicano, or make jokes like a Chicano.

This is not surprising since Chico is the creation of four Anglo scriptwriters, and is portrayed by a Puerto Rican actor.

Ed's Garage is supposed to be located in the Chicano barrio of East L.A. But it is more like the Anglo suburb of Burbank, where the NBC studios in which it is taped are located. All the customers at Ed's Garage are Anglos, and they all drive new expensive cars. No, this is not the world of Chicanos.

It might be considered a victory of some kind that TV has recognized the fact that Chicanos exist. But a program that reinforces the racist stereotypes of superior Anglos and inferior, subservient Chicanos, and brushes aside the reality of life in a racist society, is not much of a step forward.

—MIGUEL PENDAS



Push needed for subscriptions

Militant drive hits 11,418 in street sales

By ROSE OGDEN  
We broke a record last week, with street sales of 11,418 copies of the Oct. 4 *Militant*, headlined "What solution to inflation, layoffs?"  
With the exception of our special target sales week last spring—when 15,000 copies were sold—sales of the Oct. 4 issue were higher than any other single week since *The Militant* launched the single-copy sales campaigns a year and a half ago.

Sales

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Detroit	600	1102	184
Glendale, Calif.	7	11	157
Cleveland	250	391	156
San Francisco	375	573	153
Asbury Park, NJ	10	15	150
Twin Cities	400	580	145
Denver	325	460	141
Boston	600	840	140
Brooklyn	400	542	136
St. Louis	400	534	134
LA (Central-East)	400	493	123
Portland	300	350	117
San Diego	275	321	117
Ann Arbor	40	46	115
Nashville	27	30	111
Pittsburgh	375	411	110
Washington, DC	400	413	103
LA (West Side)	400	409	102
Philadelphia	400	406	102
Atlanta	475	481	101
Upper West Side NY	425	430	101
Houston	500	500	100
Highland Park, NJ	20	20	100
Logan, Utah	40	40	100
Louisville	35	35	100
Syracuse	5	5	100
Tucson	15	15	100
Seattle	350	337	96
Lawrence, Kans.	43	40	93
Chicago	675	592	88
Edinboro, Pa.	50	43	86
Oakland/Berkeley	700	595	85
Sacramento	10	8	80
Lower Manhattan	450	350	78
TOTALS	9,400	11,418	121
YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS			
St. Louis	100	164	164
Seattle/Portland	100	145	145
Ohio/Kentucky	100	144	144
Mid-Atlantic	100	136	136
Michigan	100	134	134
Minnesota	100	129	129
Northern Calif.	100	114	114
Texas	100	111	111
Southeast	100	110	110
Pennsylvania	100	104	104
Southern Calif.	100	85	85
New York	100	67	67
Chicago	100	45	45

An additional 1,488 copies were sold by the Young Socialist teams who are traveling around the country. Many other supporters who sell *The Militant* regularly have not sent us reports, so the full scope of the week's sales is even greater.  
What lies behind this achievement?  
The sales scoreboard shows that our success rests on supporters in each area reaching a high level of sales. In 27 areas out of 34, we met or went over our goal. The other seven cities came close.  
Almost without exception, Saturday sales are the jumping-off point for a successful sales week. The largest proportion of Saturday sales are to Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Throughout the week, regular sales on campus are important. In Cleveland, for example, 297 *Militants* were sold on campus, primarily at one school that had just opened for the fall term.  
Political events are another focus of *Militant* sales. Supporters in New York's Upper West Side sold 81 at an amnesty demonstration; 68 were sold at a Portland meeting where Angela Davis spoke; and 24 at an antideportation rally in Denver.  
Regular sales at plant gates, other workplaces, and union meetings are also important. St. Louis supporters sold 29 *Militants* at a Steelworkers strike meeting; Central-East Los Angeles supporters sold 24 at a Social Services union meeting; 20 were sold at Denver General Hospital; and 10 by Chicagoans at U. S. Steel.  
Detroit is in first place with sales of 1,102. One factor boosting their sales was the special one-day mobilization held to sell *Militant* subscriptions—195 subscriptions and 215 single copies were sold on three campuses.  
Detroit is also one of the areas ahead of schedule in the subscription drive.  
With 2,570 subscriptions sent in so far, we are somewhat behind nationally. At this point in the drive we should have 4,000 subscriptions, one-third of our goal of 12,000 by Nov. 24.  
Supporters who are ahead or on schedule in the drive have organized subscription blitz weekends, where large numbers of people could participate in a whole day of selling.  
The bulk of the subscriptions sent in from Denver were sold during two weekends of canvassing college dormitories. Supporters are now concentrating their efforts on commuter colleges. At one school, a professor invited a *Militant* seller to make an announcement in front of his class, after which eight subs were sold.  
In Cleveland and San Francisco,



Good Saturday sales of *The Militant* are essential for meeting weekly goal  
Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

door-to-door subscription sales in housing projects in the Black communities are being organized.  
Many supporters are selling subscriptions to co-workers. Claire Moriarty, New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 20th C.D., has sold 20 to people at her job. Moriarty works at G. B. Putnam publishing house, where employees are involved in a union organizing drive.  
Encourage your co-workers and friends to subscribe to *The Militant*. If you want a weekly bundle to sell, send in the coupon on page 27.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
Ann Arbor	30	25	83
Denver	325	239	74
East Lansing, Mich.	80	48	60
State College, Pa.	15	8	53
San Francisco	500	251	50
Nashville	18	9	50
Detroit	475	223	47
St. Louis	300	126	42
Portland	275	113	41
Twin Cities	500	165	33
Boston	700	193	28
Brooklyn	400	106	27
Chicago	700	181	26
LA (West Side)	350	89	25
Cleveland	400	78	20
Albany	15	3	20
Atlanta	350	56	16
LA (Central-East)	350	49	14
Pittsburgh	300	41	14
Upper West Side NY	400	56	14
San Jose	30	4	13
Edinboro, Pa.	15	2	13
Indianapolis	25	3	12
Bloomington	75	8	11
Washington, DC	350	28	8
Oakland/Berkeley	700	53	8
Milwaukee	100	8	8
Tallahassee	15	1	7
Madison	15	1	7
Philadelphia	300	11	4
Lower Manhattan	400	13	3
San Diego	275	5	2
Houston	400	6	2
Seattle	325	3	1
Logan	*	23	
Lawrence, Kans.	*	8	
St. Cloud, Minn.	*	6	
Shippensburg, Pa.	*	4	
Amherst, Mass.	*	3	
New Paltz, NY	*	2	
Tucson	*	2	
Geneseo, NY	*	1	
Sacramento	*	1	
General		157	
YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS			
Upper Midwest	240	62	26
Mid-Atlantic	240	29	12
Michigan/Indiana	240	26	11
Southeast	240	15	6
Pennsylvania	240	12	5
Southern Calif.	240	13	5
Northern Calif.	240	1	0
TOTALS	12,000	2,570	21
*no quota			

New York meetings expose CIA role in Chile

"We only have chapter one of an entire book," said Laurence Birns, referring to the recent disclosures on the CIA's role in the 1973 coup in Chile. Birns was addressing 100 people who attended a meeting at Columbia University last week, sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The Columbia meeting was part of a series that USLA has organized on the topic.  
Birns, a professor of Latin America studies at the New School, had testified before one of the House subcommittees investigating the CIA's role in Chile. He also appeared at another USLA-sponsored meeting of 120 at New York University, along with Jay Ressler of USLA.  
At both meetings Birns stressed that

there are many facts on the U.S. role in the coup that have yet to come out. Dramatizing his point, Birns reported that the State Department knew the exact date of the coup at least seven days in advance, not two days, as Henry Kissinger had testified. Birns indicated that the source of much of his information is the same as the *New York Times* has been relying on for its exposés on the CIA.  
Jay Ressler explained that the recent disclosures point to the unavoidable conclusion that the United States was responsible for the bloody military coup. He said, "The CIA disclosures are the Pentagon papers of the movement in solidarity with the people of Chile. They only confirm what most of us have known all along."

Ressler went on to describe USLA's plans to "mobilize public opinion, to educate the American people to the facts, and to demand that more facts come out. . . . Our job is to continue and intensify our efforts to end U.S. aid to the junta, end the torture, and win the freedom of the political prisoners."  
The New York meetings on the CIA indicate the heightened interest in the Chile issue brought about by the recent disclosures. At these two meetings 110 people signed USLA's activities list and 86 copies of the *USLA Reporter* were sold, along with 11 copies of the USLA book, *Chile's Days of Terror, Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup* (recently published by Pathfinder Press).

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**WHY THE SYSTEM WON'T WORK—A SOCIALIST VIEW ON INFLATION AND ECONOMIC CUTBACKS.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## CHICAGO

**DISSIDENTS IN THE USSR: THE CASE OF VALENTYN MOROZ.** Speaker: Philip Berrigan. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 37 S. Wabash, Third Floor. Ausp: Coalition to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners.

**UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY: A PANEL DISCUSSION.** Speakers: Jane Kennedy; Brad Lytle, executive committee of War Resisters League; Cindy Porter Carey, ACLU amnesty committee. Sat., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## DETROIT

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Robin Maisel, SWP candidate for governor; B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general; Marty Pettit, SWP candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D. Sat., Oct. 19, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., program. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**CAN THE UNITED FARM WORKERS SURVIVE AND WIN?** Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**THE STRUGGLE FOR PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE.** A slide show and panel discussion presented by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Second Floor, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**U.S. COLONIAL RULE VS. PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT.** Speaker: representative, Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway, Third Floor (near 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**AMNESTY FOR WAR RESISTERS.** Speakers: Syd Stapleton, national secretary, Political Rights Defense Fund; representative, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldiers Organization; representative, American Civil Liberties Union. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE ROLE OF THE CIA IN LATIN AMERICA.** Speakers: Dr. John Williman, associate professor of Latin American Studies, Bloomsburg State College; spokesperson, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**U.S. AGRIBUSINESS AND WORLD HUNGER.** Speakers: Fred Stanton, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; David Courmier, United Farm Workers staff member. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (Fifth and Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Marvin Thompson, executive secretary, Legion of Black Collegians, University of Missouri-Columbia; Walt Toterer, staff writer, Meramec Community College Montage; others. Sat., Oct. 19, 6:30 p.m., social hour; 8 p.m., program. Peacock Alley Community Center, 25 N. Ewing. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN DIEGO

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor; Jo Della-Giustina, SWP candidate for Congress, 41st C.D. Sat., Oct. 19, 6 p.m., refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., program. Scripps Cottage, San Diego State University. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Young Socialists for Rodriguez and the Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (714) 280-5262.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**PROPOSITION 9: REFORM OR COVER-UP.** Speakers: Jane Rauch, Northern California director of People's Lobby; Mark Zala, chairman, San Francisco SWP campaign committee. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## ...Boston

**Continued from page 5**  
been providing a "respectable" cover for their colleagues.

The capitalist politician with the greatest authority in the state—Senator Edward Kennedy—has been conspicuously silent about the racist offensive. He only expressed mild "dis-may" at President Ford's backhanded endorsement of the racist campaign against busing. He has refused to exert his authority on the side of the rights of the Black students.

Liberal Mayor White announced his opposition to the court desegregation order even before schools opened. So did liberal Republican Governor Sargent.

The liberals downplay the scope and intensity of the racist mobilizations and try to portray every racist attack as an isolated incident. This has only emboldened the racist offensive. When Judge Garrity first issued his desegregation order, the response of many whites was one of reluctant acceptance. Racist sentiment ran high, but many whites felt it was useless to resist.

However, the liberal politicians in power allowed racist leaders to organize with impunity, covering for them by explaining that it was everyone's right to "speak out" on this "complex issue."

The liberal city and state administrations refused to take measures against the racist boycott, even encouraging it on the grounds that it would keep the troublemakers out of the schools.

The temporizing of the liberals

opened the door to the growth of the racist boycott, and suddenly the idea that the federal court desegregation order could be smashed seemed realizable. At this point the racist violence began to spread to other parts of the city.

The wretched role played by the liberal Democratic and Republican officials has made clearer than ever the need for independent mass actions by the Black community and all supporters of civil rights to begin to turn back the racist offensive. Such actions would receive nationwide support among all opponents of the racist mobs.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates are campaigning to promote such actions. "The gains of the civil rights movement," said gubernatorial candidate Donald Gurewitz in a recent statement, "were the product of mass actions in the streets. Such actions are needed again today."

"I completely support the call by the Black Caucus for a march and rally this Saturday, Oct. 13. I hope this will be but the first of many rallies, marches, and demonstrations in defense of the rights of Black youth to attend any school they want in complete safety."

"Boston has become the test case for a nationwide attempt by the extreme racist forces to roll back the gains of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. To meet this challenge, to beat it back, and to make fresh gains, every individual and organization that supports the rights of Black students must unite in the kind of broad independent mass actions that originally won the gains the racists are now trying to undo."

## ...miners

**Continued from page 7**  
went downhill. Organized labor has lost members and I think you're going to see an upturn with unions like the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Auto Workers; United Mine Workers; and some of the more aggressive unions.

**Heisler:** Do you think the UMW might run a candidate for president in 1976?  
**Hawkins:** Like Arnold Miller?

**Heisler:** Yes, like Arnold Miller.  
**Hawkins:** That's a possibility.

**Heisler:** I'd like to see it.  
**Hawkins:** I thought I was the only one who thought about that!

**Heisler:** He'd get a lot of votes from railroad workers and other working people if he ran.

**Hawkins:** That'd be great. It isn't out of the realm of reason.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Title of publication: *The Militant*.  
2. Date of filing: Sept. 30, 1974.  
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly.

4. Location of known office of publication: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: The Militant Publishing Assn., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Editor: Mary-Alice Waters, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Managing editor: None.

7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Joseph Hansen, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Farrell Dobbs, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state). None.

9. For optional completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Rose Ogden, Business Manager.

10. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

11. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run), 24,287; B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 11,822; (2) Mail subscriptions, 11,964; C. Total paid circulation, 23,786. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: (1) Samples, complimentary, and other free copies, 305; (2) Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold, O.E. Total distribution (sum of C and D), 24,091. F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 396. G. Total (sum of E and F—should equal net press run shown in A), 24,487.

Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run), 21,800. B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 16,001; (2) Mail subscriptions, 5,417. C. Total paid circulation, 21,418. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: (1) Samples, complimentary, and other free copies, 191. (2) Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold, O.E. Total distribution (sum of C and D), 21,609. F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 191. G. Total (sum of E and F—should equal net press run shown in A), 21,800.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)  
Rose Ogden,  
Business Manager

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

**Tucson:** YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

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**San Jose:** YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-2253.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**HAWAII:** Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor

Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.

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**Brooklyn:** SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

**Buffalo:** YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

**New York City:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

**Lower Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

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**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

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**OREGON:** Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State Col-

lege, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

**Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

**State College:** YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

**TEXAS:** Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

**San Antonio:** YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

**Pullman:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

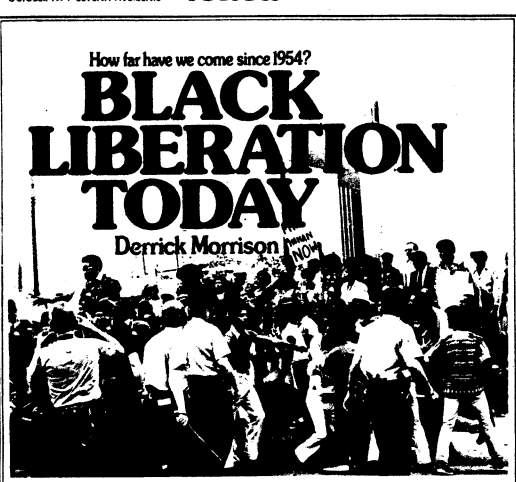
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**Milwaukee:** YSA, UW-Milwaukee Union Box 139, Rm. E-382, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: (414) 963-5551.



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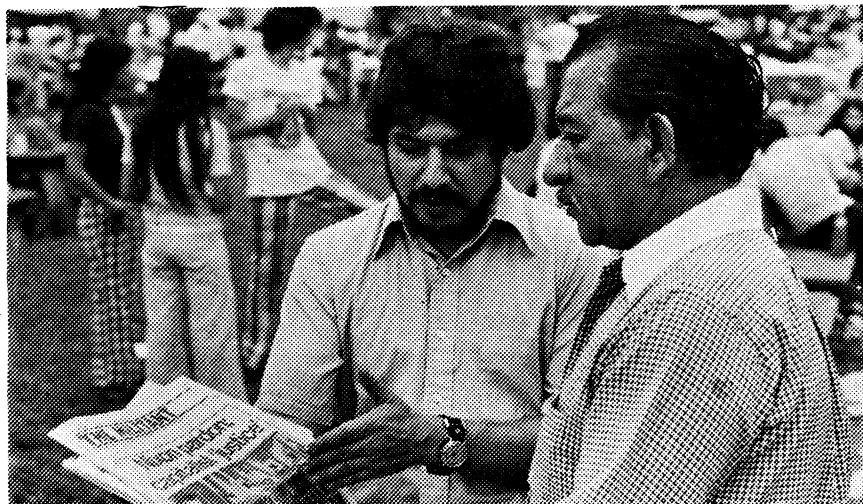


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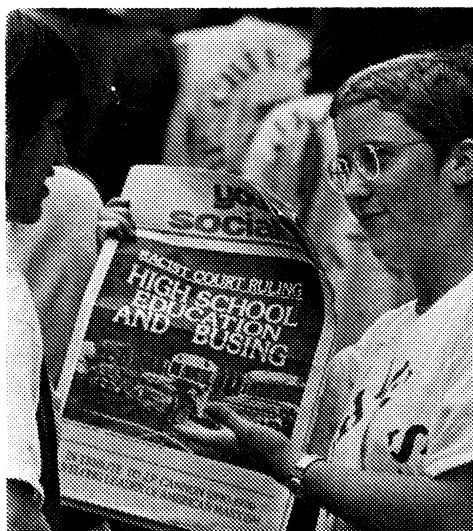
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## Ford: 'Heat less, eat less, drive less'

By DICK ROBERTS

President Ford's economic speech to Congress Oct. 8 epitomized the narrow-minded self-interest policies of the American ruling class in the face of deepening domestic and world economic crisis.

In the international arena it intensified the drive of U. S. monopoly to control imports and exports. Much of the speech was couched in patriotic demagoguery.

In the domestic arena it included measures for throwing more people out of work, speeding up production at the expense of health and safety, and eliminating pollution-control measures. These were dressed up with a few token concessions to working people.

But the real meaning of Ford's proposals came through in the utter contempt for the problems of working people he expressed at the end of his speech, when he called on people to eat less, heat less, drive less, if possible, walk—and carry around buttons saying "WIN."

A number of other equally short words are more likely to appear.

Ford's proposals fell so far short of coming to grips with the acute problems of capitalism that even the *New York Times* felt compelled to point out, in an editorial headlined "What Leadership?": "They in no sense add up to a program for an emergency. And it is an emergency that confronts the nation and the world."

In the 1930s the failure of capitalist governments to overcome their own narrow national interests propelled the world into economic catastrophe. Ford's speech gave no indication that the United States today will follow any other course.

### Ford's 10 points

Taking up the proposals point by point, Ford began where many people are hurting most, with food prices:

- He called for the removal of remaining acreage limitations on rice, peanuts, and cotton—a sop to agribusiness that got one of the most enthusiastic responses from members of Congress assembled to hear the speech.

- He called for the Council on Wage and Price Stability to "expose" restrictive food-pricing policies. This is a complete fraud. No agency of the capitalist government can or will police the prices of its monopolies.

Price controls are promised—but never carried out—in order to cover up for wage controls.

This was another warning that the government may be heading for direct wage controls in the future, despite Ford's protestations to the contrary.

On energy, Ford had these proposals:

- He wants a new committee, to be headed by Secretary of the Interior



'How come we're always up in the front lines?'

Rogers Morton. The deeper the crisis, the more committees!

- He wants price controls on natural gas to be lifted. This got almost thunderous applause from the gathered legislators. And it gives the lie to the whole supposed purpose of Ford's speech.

The speech was supposed to be about how to combat inflation. Lifting price controls on natural gas as well as a number of the other measures Ford came up with will lead to price increases, not the end of inflation.

- Ford wants imports of foreign oil to be reduced one million barrels a day by the end of 1975. This was one of the most ominous aspects of Ford's list, especially after last week's imposition of export controls on grain. Import and export quotas designed to increase the control of U. S. monopoly over world trade can only deepen the problems of the world economy.

In the 1930s such protective laws led to the spiraling downward of world trade that helped make the depression so deep.

Furthermore, oil import quotas will not lower oil prices in this country. On the contrary, they will give the

oil monopolists greater freedom to keep prices up.

And on top of this is the implicit threat, in any such punitive move aimed at foreign oil-producing nations, that Washington will stop at nothing to whip the Arab governments into line.

- Ford wants oil-fired power plants eliminated by 1980 and auto gas efficiency to be increased 40 percent in four years. In other words, he wants more air-polluting coal burning and the elimination of auto-emission controls. And to spur production of coal, restrictions on strip-mining are to be eliminated.

### 'Restrictive practices'

Ford's third point was on what is becoming known in the financial press as "restrictive practices." This is a euphemism for the minimal environmental protection and job safety laws that are now on the books.

They want to get rid of these. They want to speed up production with no work-condition laws to stand in the way.

To make this one look good, Ford said that the Council on Wage and Price Stability should take part in the process. He also called for "labor-

management blueprints" for productivity and work-quality measures.

High on the list of "restrictive practices" they want to eliminate is the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires union-scale wages for government-financed construction.

Ford had one further cover for these moves. Penalties for antitrust violations would be increased. The highest fine for corporations would be raised to \$1-million. General Motors' annual sales are about 25,000 times higher than that particular figure.

By the time he got to his fourth point, the president was warming up. "We need more capital," he declared. And in order to do this the government will increase investment tax credit from the current 7 percent for industry generally to 10 percent.

This multi-billion-dollar tax giveaway to big corporations is a standard "countercyclical" device of the capitalist government, first adopted under the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s. Its effect is minimal.

When industrial investment slows down for fear of a major recession, a few percentage points' difference in tax credit for business doesn't make much difference. It does increase profit margins, though.

And when Ford went on to promise a dividend-tax deduction and liberalization of capital gains taxes, the assembled politicians got pretty enthusiastic.

### Unemployment

Ford's fifth point came under the cute heading of "helping the casualties." No mention was made of the fact that unemployment figures for September had just been published, showing a sharp increase to 5.8 percent.

That meant that 5.3 million workers were officially unemployed, "the largest number of unemployed since the [Labor] department began adjusting its reports for seasonal factors in 1948," according to the Oct. 7 *Wall Street Journal*.

On top of this the number of persons involuntarily working only part-time reached 2.8 million in September, the highest level since early 1961.

So more than eight million people are either out of work or don't have full-time jobs, and this still doesn't include people who have given up looking for jobs.

But it isn't high enough for Ford. When the unemployment rate reaches 6 percent, Ford said, there would be short-term job relief provided by the government, at minimal wages, and only after workers had completely exhausted their unemployment compensation.

How many jobs? Ford didn't say, but the *Wall Street Journal* estimated Oct. 9 that if the unemployment level got up to 6.5 percent, the government

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